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SIR ALBION RAJKUMAR BANERJI
M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retd.)

THROUGH AN INDIAN CAMERA

BY

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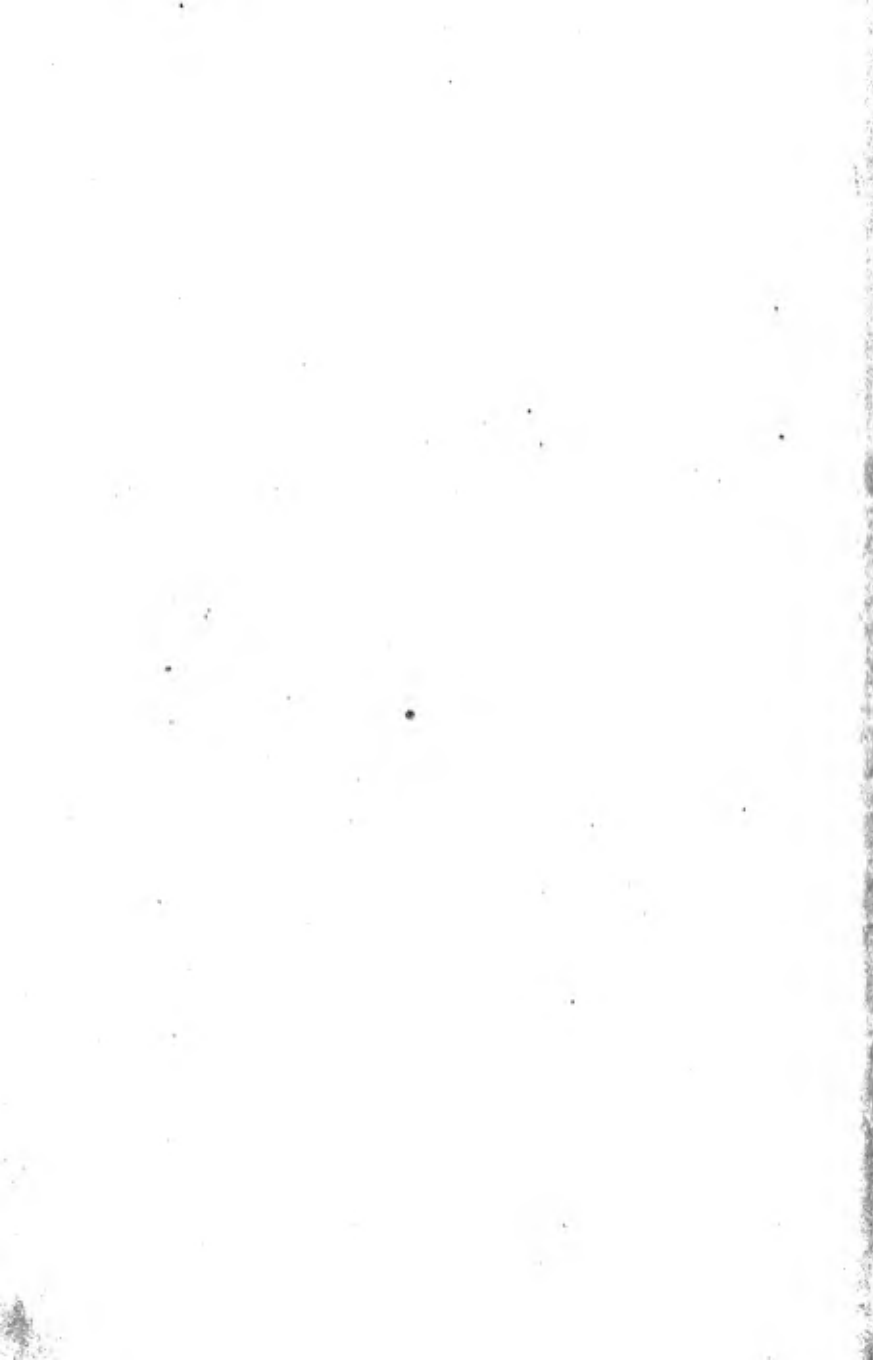
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PREFACE

Since my return to India at the end of 1940 after an absence of nearly twelve years during which period I travelled extensively in Persia, Near East, Egypt, all European countries including Russia, U.S.A., and Central America, I took the opportunity as it presented itself of expressing my views on various occasions on current Indian topics. I am now publishing my speeches and writings relating to this period in the hope that that they may help in the study and solution of the problems which have grown in complexity in the past few years.

BANGALORE, }
March 1946. }

ALBION R. BANERJI.



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**Diary Notes of Journey from England to
India and Landing at the New Cochin Port
October-December 1940**

The journey cannot be fully described for if the letter gets into enemy hands, the information, to quote the Ministry "may be useful to the enemy", but I have sent letters to friends of a vague kind during the voyage which may give some idea.

Now I am in a position to give further details. I was not at all aware that there were so many going along in the same boat. The stack of baggage in the Customs and Emigration Shed was at Liverpool, to say the least, mountain-high, and it took the Port Authorities to clear everything from 1-30 to 5 P.M. The procedure was simple. We had to hand in the ration and identity cards, get the pass-ports checked up, give up the cameras, declare contents of our baggage, some of which were examined by the girls employed by the Censor Department. I was one of the first to get through the bar, and felt some relief to get on board, but I was disappointed with the out-of-date arrangements in the steamer, having travelled in various lines throughout the world, in fact, I found hardly any change after 30 years. This struck me as a very backward and unenterprising character of the company, which is reluctant to spend any money on improvements. The boat began to move from its moorings late in the afternoon, but

was anchored mid-stream, and we did not actually sail till the next day. The impression of the first night was of a most harrowing character, for we had air-raids practically the whole night, and might have been the victim of explosive bombs any moment. The black-out arrangements were perfect, and in the darkness of the night, even though there was no moon, no light was shown on deck. Cigarettes and torches were prohibited, and the whole crowd of passengers, after dinner, had no other place but the Saloon, which was all blacked out with no ventilation whatever. In fact, it was a really hot den of human beings gasping for breath. Those who were below the Promenade Deck had their cabins all blacked out, the port-holes closed, and those who were on the Promenade and Boat Deck had to grope in the dark and find the cabin doors, which was not an easy task. Many people had accidents such as bruises owing to knocking against obstructions.

The impression of the crowd of passengers was a mixed one, all ages from 80 to a baby of 6 months were represented. Many had a scared look, as if escaping from fire. Those who were old naturally found some excuse to go back to their old places and work in India, Ceylon, Rangoon and Malay States, where they had made their money, and to which they were taking as much as they could in travellers cheques, etc. In cash we could not take more than £ 10 worth of Bank notes.

Once we got on way there was no sign amongst the passengers that they had left a country devastated by war. Careless enjoyment and irresponsibility characterized the daily routine. Women were in all sorts of ridiculous costumes, which may be fashionable in some groups of society, but ordinarily they would not be tolerated in hotels or restaurants, older the women, the more exaggerated the types. The younger girls were on the whole passable and of good behaviour, but the middle-aged women were certainly no credit to the British race. The old men were selfish in the extreme, the young men, some of them joining their commercial posts in Burma, etc., had a feeling of relief that they have left the war for good. They were the men that should have been compelled to join up, but who escaped on some pretext or other. It would have done them good to fight, on the other hand, they were returning to the East with all the brag and arrogance of youth to-day, and disgraced themselves often by drinking too much and against this, even the Captain had no control. It was impossible at nights to sleep with the noise that went on, even though a complaint was made to the Captain, and he promised to put a notice, nothing was done. My reaction therefore, after I had controlled my own feelings about leaving England and so many dear friends, was one of deep depression and disgust, and a great feeling of despair as for the future after the end of this war. What I saw gave

me the idea of collecting information like Douglas Reid, who wrote "Disgrace abounding" with a title "What was wrong with England". When the radio news was heard about the war, the indifference shown in the faces of those that listened, the want of knowledge as to the sacrifice that was being made by the poor people of the country, and the bravery and skill that were shown by the young in the R.A.F., were not of much concern. With such a state of mind, it was natural that I kept aloof, although gradually I came to know a few persons who could talk intelligently and who had ideas in their true perspective regarding the future of this war, but they were very few. The first one I talked to, was a big planter in Ceylon, very influential who sat at the Captain's table, and who asked me to give him my latest collection of articles, "Looking Ahead in War Time". It was through him that a young girl, going out to Quetta to get married to a Frontier soldier, very naively asked me to lend this book to her to read. This shows the unspoilt character of young men and women when they first go out to the East. It went into circulation during the voyage among several, and I also gave my book, "The Rhythm of Living" to many. Strange to say, that as regards amusement there was hardly any in the boat. During other voyages I have been asked to give a talk on some topic or another, but here people cared for nothing but drinking, playing bridge, and dancing in

pitch darkness in the forepart of the ship. You can imagine the rest.

The voyage from the navigation point of view was a great credit to the Captain, but apart from the position of the stars, the sun and the moon, we really did not know in which direction we were going, and, although, the day's run was announced with the usual game of having a tote, we all knew that the figure was fictitious. Some clever young man tried to add up these figures, took hold of the Atlas map, and tried to chalk out the route of the ship, but he was promptly found out, and the Atlas was then removed from the Saloon. Truth to tell, we wandered about the whole of the Atlantic trying to avoid submarines and raiders, and came to the first port of call, Freetown, which was a mandated territory. There was an air-raid from Dakar—a French plane coming regularly once a week—but no bombs were dropped and anti-aircraft fired into the sky. Here we saw a hospital ship, two small cruisers of very old type. For some reason or other, we were not allowed to land. This was a mock raid and a pantomime in fact, but a war performance under a gentleman's agreement. It was a torture to remain in the boat in the still atmosphere of West Africa, watching a few natives of the country in their canoes, trying to amuse the passengers by singing crazy English or American Jazz songs, and diving for coins. It was however a relief to see land after several days.

Land soon disappeared when we began to move again, and then we went North, West, South, East for more than two weeks and after a wearisome and almost unbearable tedium of a voyage full of monotony and danger, we arrived at Cape Town, hoping that here at least it may be possible to get some diversion and a couple of days better climate. In South Africa, at this time, it was spring weather, delightfully cool, and the Table Mountain with its gigantic head towering above the sea, certainly made a most imposing landscape in the Cape of Good Hope. We made our own little parties, and went by car to the foot of the mountain, some of us climbed up to the top by ropeway, majority of us went to the best hotels and restaurants to have a change of food and drink. This country is really a White Man's country. The labour was white at the docks, the coloured man was seen nowhere, and in fact, interdicted from entering within the precincts of Cape Town and its suburbs. The look of the town, its lay-out, its cleanliness, and the efficiency of management in regard to everything that one saw, showed almost perfect Dutch power of organisation, and no doubt this combined with the genius to colonize must be the cause of such a wonderful development of the whole of the Union of South Africa. I visited General Smut's official residence, did some shopping and particularly noticed the beauty and charm of the girls in the shops and elsewhere. They were for the most part naturally of

Dutch origin, fair hair, lovely complexion, and blue eyes. The town itself being the Capital of the Union during the winter months, is wonderfully laid out, full of variegated foliage and flowers, some tropical, and some semi-tropical. The University and grounds and the famous Rhodes Memorial were well worth a visit. It was a great relief to have this couple of days change from the boat, but it was not very comfortable to sleep in the cabins when the boat was in harbour.

The end of the journey was not even then in sight, for, although from Cape Town to Cochin was not more than two thousand and odd miles, another two weeks at least were estimated as the duration of the remainder of the journey. The black-out restrictions still continued to its utmost rigour, although the life-belts were left in the cabins. It was, however, strange that there was just one boat drill, and for the passengers one life-belt drill during the whole voyage so far. To relieve the monotony, some sports were organised of skittles, a favourite game, and a Bridge tournament. They were very badly managed, and were more of a bore than enjoyment. The food was getting worse and worse, and it did not seem as if the ship got replenishments from Cape Town. Water also got scarce, and we hardly had any fresh-water for our baths for several days, the supply in the cabins was also shut down after breakfast. In fact, it was a wonder that there was no illness on board, especially amongst the children

and their mothers. There should have been a condensing plant for such a long voyage, but, of course, this was too much to be expected. The two weeks passed somehow, all the rowdyism of some of the passengers increased, the heat was intense in the Indian Ocean, and after 14 days of zig-zagging, we saw the coast of Malabar at a distance, the New Cochin Harbour hidden, behind a green belt of coconut palms with the background of low-lying hills.

I was Dewan of Cochin from 1907 to 1914 and had a great deal of correspondence with the British Government about the Cochin Harbour Scheme. I fought for the rights of the Cochin State and investigated into the possibilities while on special duty in 1910 in England. What I prophesied in 1910 was that Cochin will one day be a first class harbour and ocean liners will call from all parts of the World. It was then a dream, but foundations were laid though it took nearly 30 years to push the schemes through. In one of my letters as Dewan in 1911 I stated as follows:

TRADE DEVELOPMENT

“The development of trade in British Cochin is due in a large measure to the sacrifice that this Durbar have made and to the spirited policy that she has pursued in regard to the development of her internal communications

and the construction of the Railway. The inland backwaters between Cochin and Ernakulam present excellent facilities for the construction of a magnificent harbour, but the question of constructing this harbour has hitherto been taken up by the Cochin Chamber of Commerce, although the Durbar's interest in the matter is considerable and cannot for a moment be denied.

"The backwater is described by experts as 'a wet dock of greater area than all the great docks of Great Britain put together'. The importance of Cochin as the greatest outlet in the West Coast for the trade of Southern India, especially in regard to her past history and her subsequent development in Railways and internal water communications, cannot now for a moment be doubted.

TREATY ARRANGEMENTS

"Looking at all the questions referred to above from a general standpoint, the Durbar consider that no more suitable opportunity can be found for reopening the question of the harbour improvement in conjunction with the proposed anti-erosion schemes as well as all matters connected with the modifications that must necessarily have to be made in the treaty arrangements and stipulations now

existing with reference to the trade at British Cochin, between this Durbar and the British Government. Cochin can in fairness and justice claim to be the leading partner in the scheme, take the initiative, undertake the enterprise and thus derive the fullest benefit from her natural position of advantage, which has hitherto been denied to her owing to her own altruistic policy.

“ Looking at the scheme and its possibilities from a broad and general standpoint, it is impossible not to be struck with the advantages that Cochin possesses, which in spite of the fact that they have been brought to notice on several occasions, have nevertheless up to the present time not encouraged the enterprise being undertaken either by Government or capitalists. A reference to the map will show that, for vessels plying between Europe and Australia *via* Suez Canal, Cochin is the more convenient place of call than Colombo and inevitably more accessible than Madras.

“ Further, while Colombo and Madras are entirely dependent on artificial means for their harbours, Cochin already possesses an enormous and deep natural inner basin capable of unlimited expansion. The backwater between Ernaculum and Cochin is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles broad and is of great depth in many places. Its advantages as a

naval port have already been pointed out in the past correspondence. It could afford anchorage and safe hiding to battle ships and torpedo boats, and it could also provide berths for a large fleet of commerce.

"The Durbar are strongly of opinion that the present conditions are extremely favourable for taking up the whole scheme, which is found to prove financially prosperous, as well as a great boon not only to the State and the surrounding country, but also to the whole of Southern India.

"In conclusion, I am to add that the Durbar will be prepared to bear the initial cost of the investigation that may be ordered by the British Government, or they are themselves prepared to undertake the investigation on their own responsibility, if permission be granted to them to convert the inner backwaters into an expansive harbour according to the rough plan indicated above."

It will thus be seen that when Cochin appeared on the horizon and my boat steamed inside the backwaters what a thrill it was to see a dream realised.

After a lapse of 26 years, nearly a generation—I landed at this new port of Cochin alongside Willingdon Island. At first sight there was not any great transformation to show that a big harbour had been constructed. It was indeed a thrilling experience to enter the backwaters in a big liner

through the bar which at one time was considered a permanent obstruction to an inner harbour being constructed in Cochin. The correspondence giving the history of the initiation of the scheme when I was Dewan from 1910 onwards, will be interesting reading, and a detailed account of it was published by me in the *Madras Mail* of July 6, 1935, an extract from which has already been given above.

What has actually happened during the past thirty years or more of negotiations between Cochin, the British Government and Travancore is a matter of public knowledge and it need not be referred to to say here. Suffice to say however, that when I left Cochin there was no lack of information as to what was happening about the harbour.

One or two newspaper extracts which appeared at the time of my arrival in Cochin will prove the point. For example the *Malabar Herald* published the following:

“Sir Albion Banerji, the Ex-Dewan of Cochin, who has been in London for a pretty long time is paying Cochin a visit after these long years, and we offer him a hearty welcome. As Dewan of Cochin when the late abdicated Maharaja was the ruler, he had made a mark for virile, dynamic statesmanship. Although he belonged to the I.C.S. yet his heart was always for Cochin. As Dewan of Mysore, he had shown the capacity of Indians for

governance. After a short spell in Kashmir, he left for England and during these troublous times he has been acting more or less as an unofficial ambassador of India in foreign lands. He is also a facile journalist, as he is editing a Quarterly, called the *Indian Affairs*, in London. His lecture tours in foreign lands, especially in the U.S.A., were conducive to enlisting their sympathies for the political aspirations of India. As regards the initiation of the Cochin Harbour scheme, he played a prominent part as Dewan of Cochin. His versatile articles on Indian affairs show his political flair and sympathetic imagination. In his retirement in London he is not having a life of ease and comfort but laborious days and sleepless nights for the political emancipation of India."

Here is another extract from the Editorial of *Gomathi*, dated 1st December 1940.

"Sir Albion Banerji who has been the Dewan of Cochin for 7 years and who has been the recipient of everlasting admiration and respect of the public of Cochin and the continued affection of the Royal Family, has come again to visit Cochin, and we on behalf of the public of Cochin heartily welcome him on this occasion. Nobody has forgotten, nor can anybody forget, the fact that Sir Banerji has introduced timely reforms and set Cochin as a model

State for all the other Indian Native States of those days. Several schemes such as water supply, etc., which are very useful to the public have been introduced by him. We can never forget the encounters he had with the Paramount Government in regard to the Cochin Harbour and other matters. On account of these great services Sir Banerji can never forget Cochin nor can Cochin forget Sir Banerji."

I now give some of my impressions on landing. The Ernakulam frontage showed a vast improvement. The straight road from the Guest House to the Secretariat was called after the Dewan and to my surprise, the road from the Ram Mohan Palace—the new Guest House, leading out of Ernakulam towards Alwaye, a new broad thoroughfare—was named after me, without my knowledge. There were no new buildings except the Dewan's house and the Guest House. A considerable clearance has been made and a site has been selected for the new High Court. Penetrating through the front, one can hardly see any change whatever, the congestion, the slums, and drainage have remained as it was a quarter of a century ago, and, hence, it was that in my reply to the Ernakulam Civic Address, I made a point of the need for expansion and the needs that will come to the Town Council to meet the growing needs of the place, if it was to maintain its position as the capital and the seat of the Government of Cochin. The

institutions I visited showed great expansion, especially the College, Hospital, the Clubs, the residential Palace of Princes, and many other institutions which owed its existence to the grant of land I was able to make during my Dewanship.

The most remarkable piece of work connected with the Harbour is the two bridges connecting Ernakulam with Willingdon Island, and the latter with Muttancherri. There was a roadway next to which there is the railroad. The drive along this roadway was a very picturesque and a remarkably unique one, but once one entered Muttancherri, it was hard to believe one's eyes when one saw the state of congestion and insanitation in this crowded neighbourhood. I met some of the Muttancherri friends later, and in the presence of the Dewan pointed this out to them, and, it seemed to me that hardly any attention has been paid to this town, which is certainly a source of great danger to the health not only of British Cochin, but of Ernakulam. The old godowns, the open drains, the low congested houses, the Jewish quarters, the shops, all practically were as they stood 30 years ago. This seemed to me to be incongruous, and out of keeping with the developments connected with the Harbour.

Visiting the Harbour Works, I certainly was impressed with what has been done during the 20 years of its construction, and for that, great credit was due to Mr. Bristow, for his remarkable achievement.

There is, however, much that remains to be done, and as his time will shortly be up, he is moving at a rapid pace to get on with some of the incomplete work, such as the aerodrome, and some of the expansions. The Harbour Store Shed was a wonderful piece of work, and, from the models that I was shown, one could visualize the future, and come to the conclusion that the Island as it is now, will hardly suffice for all the operations of the Harbour, which are growing from year to year. I have not seen the arrangements in writing made between the British Government and Travancore with Cochin in this project, but, generally speaking, it was evident that whatever happens, the Port has a great future before it, and some vested interests still have to be sacrificed by some party or the other, to make the Harbour the biggest, if not one of the biggest in the whole sea board of India.

**Reply to the Address presented by the
Trichur Municipal Council
December 1940**

It seldom happens in this life of ours with a brief span of three score and ten for a man to return to the country and its people for whom he worked during the prime of his manhood. I am specially fortunate in this respect. Since my retirement from active service eleven years ago, I have become an intrepid traveller and but for this fact my fate would have been the same as in the majority of cases as those who after the cessation of all their activities gradually fade away with disappointments and misgivings of a lost world. After a lapse of over thirty years I come back to the old surroundings of Trichur where I spent the happiest seven years of my life. Truth to tell, there is no old Trichur in existence. The Town is rejuvenated and is proud now to become almost the second city in Kerala, perhaps the most beautiful with a setting so characteristic of the Kerala country, specially of Cochin. You have been, Gentlemen, singularly fortunate in having had as your President a distinguished non-official Cochinite Dr. A. R. Menon, who now holds the Honourable position of a Minister under the new reforms in His Highness' Government. I believe, he has worked for the local Government of Trichur for over a decade and it is no exaggeration to say that almost

all the improvements I see, and there are many, are due to his unstinted labours which have brought about improvements of a practical nature in the first instance, and also improvements for the beautification of the whole town, broadening of its thoroughfares, opening out extensions, modern roads and pavements, and chiefly the improvement of the sanitation and general civic amenities for which Trichur lends itself owing to its natural situation. In fact I can hardly recognise the transformation.

Personally I would like to point out to you that addresses presented to those in authority or in high places conform to a customary practice, especially in this country. I have travelled far and wide and yet I have hardly come across any country in both the hemispheres where the people follow this practice as in India, sometimes, perhaps generally, for the purpose of securing some benefit from those that are able to grant them. You have taken an unprecedented step of honouring me to-day, one who should by now after the long lapse of years be relegated to the category of defunct memories. I highly appreciate the signal honour you have done me and as I am in your midst as an ordinary citizen, and in recent years as you have heard of my activities more as an author and lecturer, you will forgive me if I do not wish to give an official colouring to anything I may say in reply to this address, although I must express as an outsider my keen appreciation for the

high standard of your civic administration, your liberal policy of expenditure for the common good and your sound and excellent financial position.

You recount some features of my work here. I can honestly say that whatever may be the merits or demerits, and time is not yet come to judge them, it was Cochin that gave me the opportunity which I never would otherwise have secured, of learning the humane side of the art of Government which was inspired during my time, by the indomitable spirit and genius of its then illustrious Ruler the Great Rama Varmah whom I had the privilege and honour to serve. You well know that what I learned in Cochin, I used to advantage in other spheres, and so far as my humble services are concerned they are but a mere fragment of what has been rendered to you by my successors the accumulated result of which I see in evidence in every nook and corner of this State. Nevertheless, my gratitude to you for this expression of your good-will and affection has no bounds. And I have but one duty and that is to thank you for the expression of your generous sentiments.

In conclusion, I will just say one word. Soon after the War started in September 1939, some of the greatest thinkers of the day, including H. G. Wells, started a forum for discussion in regard to the subject of a New World Order after the present war was over. I feel most strongly that war or no war, the existing world order cannot be sustained and with the great

upheaval of today and tomorrow, fundamental changes are going to take place. Amidst those changes we in this country will have to take our due place and hold fast to it. We have to conceive a new order in India, for the old surely will not stand the test of the general disruption of social and economic conditions of life that have prevailed in the past and that are still continuing with the influence of capitalistic tendencies which are cutting at the very root of democracy. The forum I just mentioned emphasised on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and there was one distinguished professor who very pointedly drew attention to the fact that a mere declaration of the rights of man is inadequate to meet the anxious situation. We have to also lay a formula regarding the declaration of responsibilities and obligations resulting from those rights which we often are prone to forget. Your responsibilities as representatives of the civic government of this town will grow with greater rights bestowed upon you by the Government of the country, as is going to be the case with every Municipal Corporation all over the world. And I have no doubt that by the example that you have shown you will also pay attention to your responsibilities and obligations to the people whom you serve and unflinchingly cut at the root of all vested interests which often come as a curse, even in the West, in the way of a sound system of local self-government in the truest sense of the world.

I again thank you from the bottom of my heart for this spontaneous expression of your good-will and affection for I realise that there is nothing but a genuine desire entirely disinterested to give me a welcome back to my old home-town, as they call it in America, and I shall remember this day as one of the proudest days in my life.

**Reply to the Civic Address presented by the
Ernakulam Municipal Council
December 1940**

In spite of all the persuasion I could command I have failed to convince your President that the presentation of an Address to the Dewan retired a generation ago is practically to revive human memories—memories which, if worthy of revival, are generally recounted in the glorification of those that have passed away. The position for me to say the least is distinctly embarrassing and I feel as if I have been awakened from a long period of slumber and shown the flower and the fruit as a result of what the time machine can accomplish. For I frankly must tell you that the garland of praise put over my neck is really a historic judgment that should be awarded in favour of those before me and after, forming a link as it were, in the evolution of Cochin's progress. Personally it amused me a great deal to learn from one of my old friends, that he saw a report that I was no more and even an obituary notice was published. I wonder whether your Council's resolution to name one of your new broad beautiful thoroughfares after my name was meant as a posthumous honour. Be that as it may, I am deeply sensitive of this honour done by the Town Council at Ernakulam. I feel also proud to find that the two names, one of your illustrious

Dewan Sir Shanmukham and of myself, separated by the long span of more than a quarter of a century should appear to those who pass by, so close and neighbourly, as if many of their ideals irrespective of time or space had a sympathetic vibration. This I may say seems to be a happy coincidence. Your Address, as I have said elsewhere, is rather a habitual conformity to custom which does not apply in my case. But it is more gratifying to find that time has not erased the marks on the sand tracts of progress, although it is a long distance to look back namely a third of a century. Both to you and me it is a unique opportunity which seldom comes to pass, to shake hands over a generation during which our children and grand-children have grown up to find places in the march of existence. Mere Cables then or in the adolescent stage, but hardly with any clear memories.

It is a bold step to take for any man to come to the scene of his old labours from which many that were dear to him and who co-operated wholeheartedly with him have passed away. Furthermore, the younger generation of today naturally have short memories of the past, but with glowing and illuminating perceptions of the future. I have risked the danger of a cold reception, but beyond all expectations I have been accorded a welcome, that has touched my heart, principally for its disinterested genuineness. For I come to you as a

citizen not of a State but of the world, with experience gained, by a study of world conditions and of peoples and nations after long years of administrative service in various parts of India.

You will forgive me if I do not dwell on all that you have said about my humble achievements, if they may be so called. They are, after all, small matters coming in the process of time suited, to its needs as well as its longings. If I have been of help I was but an instrument of that illustrious Ruler of yours, whom I served, whom I have already mentioned with great reverence to your sister Council at Trichur the other afternoon.

Before I close may I speak to you about your future. For I have been a fairly good prophet in many respects, even in regard to momentous questions that have come to the front since the war broke out. I do not wish to be patronising and congratulate you in the terms of reviews issued in Government orders about your civic work and administration of this town. You are the second in the State in population and revenue. If I may say so you are undergoing what may be described as the pains of a new birth.

You are financially sound and with a harbour in close proximity in the region of your beautiful backwaters, you have the prospect before you to be in the truest sense of the word the Venice of the East, and further more to quote the Dewan

Sahib, the Queen of the Arabian Sea. In one of the broadcast talks your Dewan Sahib said:

“The future development of Willingdon Island is planned out on a grand and worthy scale. It will be laid out in modern style with broad roads and flowery avenues of trees bordered by buildings artistically planned. Here will be located the offices and shops and business houses. When the projected buldings and other structures are completed, this place will not only be humming with all the hectic activity connected with a modern Port, but will be in harmony with the beauty of the natural scenery that surrounds it.”

It is also to be noted from the literature on the subject of the Cochin Port that Cochin State with the exception of certain parts of Belgium and Saxony, is the most populous area on the earth. Furthermore it is hinted that Cochin's metropolis has not been laid out to anything like the same extent as capitals of other States. No doubt it was felt there was time enough to turn attention to that, when the harbour of which so much is hoped for, placed the State on a new footing”. These are quotations and I underline them for your attention. Apart from all future possibilities regarding strategical advantages both from the point of view of the Defence of India as a whole, and from the point of view of a bigger place for Cochin in wider sphere,

you, I know, will always remember that Ernakulam is the administrative capital of His Highness' territories. No matter where the central harbour may be located. In the process of time throughout the world local Governments of big cities will be as autonomous and as influential as small kingdoms. I thus visualise in the future a time when Ernakulam will have to face many new problems. But I cannot with my limited knowledge give any indication of them looking forward, say, to period of 20 years hence. But all I do say is with the experience of the municipal government in many civilised countries of the West and America, that you will have to bear a pressure for expansion in regard to the education of the masses in your jurisdiction, public health, development under transportation within its limits or outside, increased water supply, social service, maternity and child welfare, milk supply and marketing, industrial and commercial interests, inland, interstatal and foreign. The question is whether you will retain successfully your premier position in the State, and be able to insist upon this with all the force at your command supported by your Government. I am sure His Highness' ministers will not allow any encroachments of your inherent rights on the plea of vested interests or other causes, and thus impair your dominant position which geographically is your heritage from the past.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I have just to say one word. I do not come back to India to speak, for I took upon myself a vow of silence at least for a time, for the purpose of learning what I have yet to learn, about my country from which I have been absent more than a decade. People of Cochin—all classes combined—have shown me during these past few days genuine and unmistakeable sense of their true affection for me and their regard for the services that I have been privileged to render years ago. I have been compelled to respond to the sentiments which have been so eloquently expressed, and if in doing so I have committed any indiscretion, I know I shall have your forgiveness, I wish you and your town all prosperity in future years to come.

**Reply to the Address given by the Cochin
Aided Primary School Teachers' Association
in St. Thomas College, Trichur
December 1940**

In the first place I should like to confess that I was not prepared for this function this afternoon in the sense that there was to be an address to which you would expect a reply. As I said only yesterday afternoon in reply to the civic address of the Town Council, I have got over the stage of presentation of addresses. I am just now in the category as I said, of 'defunct memories'. From what I hear from the address, it seems to me, that some of the memories of the past still linger in the educational sphere of this beautiful State. Whether I am responsible for this or not, is a matter for the future historians to say. Be that as it may, I tell you one thing, to prove to you how the education of Cochin has been and, still is, a very bright spot in the memories of my past life. When I left Cochin in 1914, I received many farewell addresses. But among all these hundreds of functions and tokens of good-will and affection for me, there was one most striking and unique souvenir which was given to me by all the Teachers of the Cochin State both in Aided and Government Schools. It was a very simple, a very beautiful, a very characteristic, spontaneous expression of feelings on the part of the teachers. It was

a little flat silver plate in which was engraved a few lines addressed to me telling in brief what they thought I had done, not for themselves so much, but more for education, principally the spread of Primary and Middle School education. You will be pleased to note that this little souvenir found a conspicuous place in my drawing room in my London home, and I am proud to show it to my old friends.

Well, Teachers, you have a great task before you today. I know as well as you do, what important place the Aided Schools hold in the State. The Aided Agencies undertake the burden of education which in most other places in other countries are primarily borne by the Government. Here, as a unique feature, the Aided Agencies take an important part and bear a large share of the burden so far as primary education is concerned, and there are even secondary schools and high schools under Aided Agencies. Well, you are co-ordinated with the State Government of Education, you have their sympathy and their encouragement, and from the address I recall what little I did to encourage you to give you strength, faith, and conviction in regard to the noble character of your profession. Now the time has come, whether you are school teachers in Aided Agencies' organisations or under Government, for you to realise that teaching is not merely a routine profession just to teach the three R's, advancing further to teach in higher grades of instruction.

But is more than that; teaching is an art which has to be practised with a sense of humour and with an understanding of the psychology of the children you are training so as to make teaching interesting to them and not as a bore, or as a process of tedious labour. In the process of teaching you have, by your own example and by your own demeanour, to imprint your personality on your students individually and collectively so that they may become good citizens of the country. Now we have many disruptive influences which are working even amongst adolescents in every country in the world, and India is no exception; by the steadiness of your character, by the perseverance amongst you to follow the principles that you have been taught to follow by your elders, by your determination to show them the correct path to use knowledge gained, not merely for economic benefits, but for other better purposes also, you will be doing a service at this critical juncture in which the world as a whole is going to pieces. We have to gather all the broken fragments together in every part of India—in every State, and it is education, through a proper system of imparting it, through a proper organisation of the teaching staff, that we are able to do this. That is the only message that I can give you. I don't want to talk to you about the war, though I can tell you many an interesting thing about. You must realise that the whole world is at war, that every individual is involved in this war, and

you have to inculcate the message of peace, the message of harmony, the message and the principle of elimination of all causes of conflict between communities. That is all I have got to tell you and I thank you again most wholeheartedly for this address which was quite an unexpected pleasure to receive, which I realise is perfectly disinterested as it is actuated by no motive, except of good-will towards myself. I thank you again not only for the honour, but also for the beautiful souvenir, which I shall cherish with pride and happy memories.

**Lecture delivered at Nagpur to the Servants
of India Society on "The War and the
New World Order"
February 1941**

A few weeks before the war broke out, Stephen King-Hall published some correspondence, including a letter from Dr. Goebbels, which he, at his own expense, reproduced in the *Daily Telegraph* of August 12th with a short introductory comment. The German anti-British propaganda which, amongst other things, alleged much more than what has been attributed to Nazidom during the last five years, so far as the foreign policy and the imperialistic ambitions of Great Britain are concerned, is too well known to need repetition. This may be past history but in discussing war aims and peace aims they are very relevant, especially in view of the generally universal belief in Europe today that the treaty of Versailles has been the cause of two decades of unrest that led to the present conflagration, and that the new world that is to come after the war must make further wars impossible.

Several opinions have been expressed since the war broke out in responsible newspapers in England on war and peace aims. These opinions, reading between the lines, incline the unprejudiced observer to the belief that at the beginning, the majority of English people did not know what they were fighting

for. There were many conflicting theories amongst various political groups which did not support the policy of Government in declaring war against Germany on the ostensible ground that the latter had invaded Poland and England was in honour bound to give her support. The subsequent, though not altogether unexpected march of Soviet Russia into this field of aggression, which righteously England took upon herself to resist by virtue of her promises, altered the whole situation. The perspective from which considerations of war aims and peace aims were discussed thus completely changed. In the beginning, Mr. Chamberlain, Prime Minister, talked about a new world order, and the determination of the Western democracies to fight against aggression. In one of his later speeches before the House of Commons, he restricted the scope of British War aims to European Order in definite terms, thereby giving an opportunity to his critics to say that the general spirit of unrest throughout the world, and this spread of aggression of European nations desirous of expansion against smaller nations outside Europe, did not concern England very much. Such a criticism would also in justice be based on the supposition that England would help a smaller nation under its control and support France in the same policy, but would oppose Italy, Germany, Russia or any other European nation which would attempt to exempt to extend.

European influence over such parts of the world, including Asia, inhabited by weaker nations who could not defend themselves. In the background, there was the annexation of Austria by Germany, the ruthless extension of the Third Reich over the whole of the Czechoslovakian state; Poland was not admittedly the concrete example of aggression but a threatening illustration of Nazi policy in Central Europe. When England declared war against Germany, with France by her side it was not only a fight for a righteous cause for freedom, but the determination to curb the ambition of European domination by Germany which, so far, nothing has prevented from spreading.

Since the Russian conquest of Poland and the division of spoils between the two opposite and previously hostile countries like Germany and Russia, a new situation was created, and yet England did not declare war against Russia, allowed the occupation of half Poland by U.S.S.R. as an accomplished fact. This was brought to the public mind all the more prominently but it was attempted, on the part of those who saw no inconsistency in the British foreign policy, to prove that Germany and Russia became strange companions in a political game which will soon divide them into hostile camps. Is this not a safe presumption, and is it not a fact that Russo-German pact proved the fundamental unity of purpose underlying both, namely, Imperialism

at the time but was not likely to continue for long?

In the minds of those who think deeply on the subject, a question arises whether France and England are not also imperialistic in their respective domains. Have they openly and sincerely given up imperialism as one of the planks of their foreign policy? They have both colonial empires to protect, and supposing Germany is beaten as it must be and the Versailles Treaty is not repeated, what will be the victorious democracies' suggestion for a lasting peace? Will they surrender any fraction of their interest? So far, no clear answer has been given to this question.

All the discussion, about war aims and peace aims, discloses a confusion of ideas amongst the Governments concerned, and the future historians will declare that never in the history of the world was any war started with such vague conceptions regarding the rights and privileges of nations which only affect them and not others. The organisation of the League of Nations under the covenant, acting on the principle of collective security, failed to stem the tide of aggression. Weaker nations were at the mercy of the stronger. Unless the whole world agrees to have a federal system of security with powers to enforce it, the war that started on the 3rd September 1939 is not likely to be the last one in our own generation.

The new Commonwealth Society founded by Lord Davies has, since 1932, been constantly pressing upon the attention of the British public the necessity of adding to the League of Nations machinery, an equity tribunal and an International Police Force. Recently they have published a declaration embodying certain proposals for the establishment of a better European order without restricting the term "European" by the exclusion of the British Commonwealth of Nations outside Europe or the U.S.A. They proposed a Federal assembly, a judiciary, and executive ministers in the constitution. This proposal, in fact, amounts to the establishment of a European federation although the term has not been used.

Before the collapse of France, the French Premier, M. Daladier, also gave his opinion that the only salvation of Europe lies in the establishment of a United State of Europe under a federation scheme, thus repeating the conception of his predecessor, M. Briand, given out to the world shortly before his death.

We have to consider sufficiently in advance whether, when peace terms are being discussed, there is any possibility of the establishment of a federation or confederation of the nations of the world. The Allies have to anticipate, as they in fact do, a long struggle and in that struggle they must secure the co-operation of all the democracies of the world, and where such democratic forms of government are

non-existent, attempt forthwith to introduce them thereby removing the inconsistencies of their positions which are being attacked by German propaganda almost every day.

Considerable public attention has been drawn to the very original and striking book written by Mr. Clarence Streit, called "Union New", in which he proposed the establishment of a federal government, elected at first by the people of fifteen democratic states and in time by the people of the whole world. I have not seen a more cogent and powerful criticism of Mr. Streit's scheme than the one written by Mr. James Ashton in his pamphlet "National Unity for World Leadership" published recently. One of these objections of Mr. Ashton may here be mentioned. He says the proposal to confine the federation to democratic countries would immediately label it as an anti-communist or anti-facist group, whereas true world leadership should not be "anti" although it should provide something superior to both. He illustrates this objection by further asking the question "At what stage would the non-democratic countries be admitted?" Mr. Streit did not include India as fit to participate in this federation at the earliest stages, although India was considered to be a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Here is an example which illustrates the point of Mr. Ashton's criticism. When India becomes completely democratic, then only

she becomes admissible in the scheme of world federation; till then she naturally will be excluded as inferior. Here is the crux of the problem so far as the relationship between Great Britain and India is concerned.

In criticising Mr. Streit's proposal in which he excludes India from federation of the Union, at a dinner discussion in London presided over by Lord Lothian, I stated as follows :—

India to-day holds the key to the peace of the world if she is strong, united, and continues to remain in the British Empire as a friendly ally and not as a subordinate member. She has abundant natural resources for the production of war materials and she can put forward a vast army of not less than a million men if she chooses. In support of this, I have only to quote Mr. Lloyd George when he spoke in the House of Commons on the Military Training Bill. He said "The East seems to be left out of our calculations, but Japan is the greatest menace we have ever had to our Empire in the East. Her march across China is pointing like a spear towards India. In the last war we had a force of 1,000,000 men from India, and we could practically leave the defence of our interests in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia to it. The French were helped by 5,000,000 men from Indo-China."

If India remains within the British Empire as a co-partner and a friendly ally, she will exercise the

greater influence towards world peace, and therefore any conception of the arrangement for a New World Order even with the co-operation of America and some of the other democracies now free or those to be freed from Nazi domination would be futile without the active co-operation of India.

Thus we come to the vital issues in this war. There is no doubt that every fibre of the whole British Empire will be strung up to the utmost to fight the war to the bitter end, but in conjunction with war effort up to its maximum limit, Great Britain should have her foreign and colonial policy so re-oriented that when the time comes her sincerity of purpose and the *bona-fides* of her declarations may not be questioned from any quarter. By such a course, she will give an example fit to be emulated not only by the democracies of Europe but also by U.S.A. and democracies of the whole American continent. There is yet another gain that may be anticipated, namely, the possible re-approachment between Europe and Asia in the future adjustments of world relations, a rapprochement which must be secured during the progress of this war and not after, for without it there is gravest possible danger that the future wars will be a continuous conflict between the two great continents of Europe and Asia. East and West will come to grips with each other for final supremacy in the civilisation of the twenty-first century. Sir Frederick White, in his book the "Future of East

and West", while admitting that Europe remains the central political area in the world for the key to peace, postulates that the "Eastern hemisphere will come to supply a new and weighty element necessitating the establishment of a new equilibrium for the whole".

Since the above was written H. G. Wells' book the "New World Order" has been published. In Section 9 he says :—

1. The establishment of a progressive world socialism in which the freedoms, health and happiness of every individual are protected by a universal law based on a redeclaration of the rights of man, and wherein there is the utmost liberty of thought, criticism and suggestions, is the plain rational objective before us now.

In Section 10 he gives advanced ideas about the declaration of the rights of man. The work is no doubt extremely valuable at the present time, but as a true Englishman he looks at the whole problem from the insular point of view, if I may so describe it, and he mentions Russia and India, the near and the far East, as having really very little to do in the creation of a new world order. We have to make our minds clear as to whether, at the end of the war, we are going to create a new world order or a new European order. On this differentiation lies the crux of the whole problem. Furthermore, as one of the critics in the discussion Forum has pointed

out, it is not sufficient to formulate only a declaration of the rights of man. Professor John Ryle insists upon a declaration also of the duties of man.

In November 1939, the Chinese Ambassador to the United States, broadcast a speech on the subject of "The Family of Nations" from which may be quoted a pregnant observation as a fitting conclusion to this discourse. Dr. Hu Shin said:—"The future world government should be superfederation of some such regional set-ups as the League of Europe, the Conference of American States, the British Commonwealth, the Conference of Pacific States, the Conference of Western and South-Western Asiatic States, etc. A world state of regional federations and confederacies with definite and precise commitments according to the graded responsibilities of the states or groups of states that is the formula which I wish to recommend to the serious reflection of all dreamers of a better and more workable world order."

**Contribution to the "Statesman" on
"Danger Ahead"
May 1941**

It is six months since I returned to India, after an absence of twelve years spent in travel and study of foreign countries. I also had one year's experience of the war in England.

Since landing in Cochin, the newest harbour in India, I have travelled right up North, visiting many places. What struck me most, was the absolute unpreparedness in India in regard to her defence, and a general indifference to the possible dangers which have grown from day to day to which India is exposed. I have also watched recent developments as regards the political situation, and realize, like many of my countrymen, the serious consequences of the political deadlock. Only to-day I saw a pregnant pronouncement of policy by the Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, which has constantly been in my mind. He says, "The country does not realize the danger with which it is threatened today. My suggestion is that all of us should put politics aside and get together for effective defence of India."

I belong to no party, and have no communal bias. As one who can fairly claim a detached view of the situation from an outside angle, may I be permitted to give expression to certain views?

As things have gone during the past 18 months, Europe has, in the wake of Nazi conquests, laid the foundation of gunpowder magazines in every country. I cannot, with any show of reason, believe that the war will end soon. Furthermore, whichever side wins in particular spheres of conflict, the war is bound to spread. Such being the case, is India going to be hung up in the balance indefinitely with the promise of a new and better constitution, Dominion Status, Pakistan, Independence, or whatever other name given from different party points of view? India cannot be expected to give wholeheartedly towards war effort, for an indefinite number of years, waiting for final victory, through the ups and downs of a long world war, for the due fulfilment of British pledges of the past, and the urgent demands of the present changed situation.

Sir Sikander says that all parties and interests should reach a convention, under which they should devote their entire attention and energy to the successful prosecution of the war, and securing the effective defence of India.

I for one very strongly feel that it is not easy to bridge the gulf that divides the Congress and the Moslem League, or to expect these and other differences to be settled, without a new gesture by the British Government. There is at present no power in the land to stop poisonous propaganda that is being spread to obscure the main issue today, the

defence of India. A temporary constitutional change only at the Centre to deal with this issue will I fear not work, nor stop further political controversies.

Moreover, the practical working of an All-India Defence Executive bristles with difficulties. India has to be defended at many points, her land routes, frontiers, and thousands of miles of sea-front, harbours, and anchorages all have to be guarded against invasion. Soldiers of the North will have no adequate incentive to defend the South, and *vice versa*. The Indian States may be victims of aggression and attack from the air, specially those situated as Travancore, Cochin, the Kathiawar States. One national Indian army consisting of units representing different races and territorial attachments will be hard to organize efficiently.

I should be inclined to vest the responsibility of regional defence in separate administrative units, which may in future be independent or sovereign States. Let all the British Provinces be given full autonomy for defence purposes, and raise their own armies from their own people. Let the Central Government be responsible for transportation, communication, harbours, trunk railways, wireless stations, posts and telegraphs, etc. The All-India Navy and All-India Air Force should also be under its control, maintained by a levy or contribution from the Provinces and States. Once the responsibility of defence is transferred thus, subject to the

above reservations, the Provinces and States become politically independent. They should be given full Dominion Status and form a union for the whole of India like the Union of South Africa or the Federal Union of Australia and Canada. To put it in another way, the whole of India should be constituted into a League of Nations, with an international army or police force, to be used for a common purpose, and an Equity Tribunal to settle inter-provincial and inter-statal disputes.

The fear that Pakistan, Dravidistan and other schemes for the readjustment of India on a linguistic or cultural basis stands in the way of a united India, overlooks the realities of the present situation. It is easy to visualize the prospect of India being divided into smaller kingdoms and states, based on racial, linguistic, or cultural differences and yet forming a union. The example of Soviet Russia including within itself the various Republics, internally independent and yet allied to the Central Government of Moscow, will certainly not be an isolated one in the history of political evolution, and can easily be applied to the conditions of India.

Each province may now be invited to hold a Round Table Conference to carry out this plan, to enlarge its franchise and establish without delay a Parliament with full Dominion Status. Hindu-Moslem differences and the problem of minorities under such a constitution will settle themselves

according to local conditions. The leaders of each Province including the Premiers of the late Congress Governments may work up the whole scheme, representation being on adult franchise and the population basis. The scheme of Pakistan can very well fit in, as may similar other schemes for territorial re-distribution likely to be put forward.

The Indian States in their own self-interest should federate at once, independently of the Provinces, and be a part of the Union of India. If they choose to remain as they are. why should British India, as a whole, stand still ?

**Letter to the "Times of India" on
"Arms for Civic Guards"
May 1941**

The other day, addressing the Indian Merchants' Chamber in Bombay, Mr. J. C. Setalvad said that even though the Cripps Mission has failed, the work of defending the country should go on unimpeded, and that the work would be facilitated by the withdrawal of the existing restrictions on the use of arms by the public.

I believe that the National War Front would achieve tangible results in its fight to improve the morale of the people, if the organisation of Civic Guards all over the country is speeded up and they are supplied with arms. The withdrawal of restrictions under the Arms Act will no doubt be a bold gesture on the part of Government, but there are two difficulties. Firstly, evidence is not lacking to show that issue of arms to the public may aggravate the danger which the Sind Government recently had to face. It was found necessary to suspend arms licences in certain localities in that province as a sequel to dacoities. Secondly, it is well known that there are no spare arms available at present and even if otherwise a desirable move, the issue of arms as a measure of defence or guerrilla warfare would not be practicable just now. Yet it cannot be gainsaid that public morale would improve if something

could be done immediately to arm the Civic Guards. Thereby panic, lawlessness and disorder would receive some check.

I venture to suggest that all arms in private possession could be made use of for this purpose. All that is required is to make a census of all such arms and to collect them for distribution to the Civic Guards under the Defence Regulations.

When the supply of arms to the growing Indian army is adequate and there is a surplus, the strength of the armed Civic Guards should be largely increased and the co-operation of the public secured all over the country. This would mean a radical change in the administration of the Arms Act, resulting in the supply of arms to the civilian population who take a responsible part in the defence of the country.

Military operations may be seriously hampered by the large-scale evacuation of people from one part of the country to another. The incidents of Vizagapatam should be an eye-opener as to what may happen in a country with an unarmed population which is an easy victim to panic, lawlessness and dacoities. The suggestion made above seems to be the quickest solution.

**Speech before the Rotary Club, Dehra Dun, on
"The World Crisis and the Future of India"
July 1941**

I fear I have chosen rather an ambitious title for my address this afternoon specially at a gathering like this, at which the Dehra Dun Rotarians are meeting at Tea. You will realise that the subject is too vast to be adequately dealt with in a twenty minutes talk. However, I shall attempt to put before you some ideas that may go on rotating in your minds in these critical times.

The subject is partly controversial and partly a matter of speculation. That there is a world crisis, does any one deny? I think not. Do all nations and countries, however, realise its force? It is spreading over the globe like a typhoon bringing chaos in the economic and social life of nations and death and destruction everywhere. Some think it had to come, and others that it was avoidable. We, in India, know little of its origin which can be traced to the post-war conditions in Europe since 1918. In India we are accustomed to take many things for granted under British protection. Furthermore, we have been too much pre-occupied with our own constitutional problems and political differences.

The world crisis has ultimately manifested itself in Hitlerism, which paramountly stands for world domination through brute force, but, that is

not the only symptom or cause. The disease is in the social, economic and political condition of most European countries, England included. Unexpected developments, almost incredible, have taken place suddenly since the war broke out in September 1939. The invasion of Poland by Germany and U. S. S. R. and Finland by Russia, the gradual Soviet absorption of the Baltic States and their change over to Nazi domination, the non-aggression pact between Russia and Germany and its subsequent abrogation, the sudden invasion of the lowlying countries of Belgium, Denmark, Holland, the occupation of Norway, the collapse of France and the Vichy armistice, the entry of Italy into the war as the hunch-back of Germany, the German thrust into the Balkans, the spread of influence over Bulgaria and Rumania, the conquest of Albania, Greece, Crete, all these followed in quick succession and brought about many disappointments and tragedies, that befell the allied armies. It will be a question for the future Historian to answer, how far all these can be attributed to Hitler and his ambitions to establish a Pan-German Europe or there is something deeper, that has caused these volcanic eruptions. If Hitler dies tomorrow does any one think that Germany will collapse? I wish you will all read that striking book *Reaching for the Stars* by Nora Waln, which attempts to solve the psychological riddle of Nazi Germany which has corrupted the whole

German Nation. National socialism has promised so many things for the nations of Europe.

Thus we see that the democracies of Europe have crumbled to earth, and England alone stands to fight for it, and for her own existence with defiance and determination, supported by her Dominions and Colonies and last but not least, India. Russia the latest victim of Nazi aggression, though one of the co-aggressors with Germany in the earlier stages of the war, and till now viewed with distrust and suspicion, is our new ally. Such are the ironies and incongruities of fate.

These, however, are as already indicated, the outward symptoms of the world crisis. The onslaught against European civilization has come from within itself, and who knows that future years may witness a grim conflict between Europe and Asia. Thus, the crisis may spread and continue for more than one generation. In fact, it has already spread to the Middle East, and Asia is the next stage. The Battle of the Atlantic is in progress, the U.S.A., Central and South America are in danger. Both sides of the Pacific are throbbing under its menace. We in India are not very far from being engulfed by it.

Turning to the events of recent years, we find that the post-war problems during the past two decades have baffled the statesman of every country. Great Britain slept in peaceful slumber of security,

and steadily pursued the noble ideals of disarmament, apparently with no knowledge of seven years of grim German war preparations. Baldwin's Government in spite of repeated warnings of the present Prime Minister did not wake up to the realities of the situation. England became weaker in strength and in prestige. Each country in Europe became a water-tight compartment, industry and commerce declined and the unemployment increased. Exchange of money restrictions including the restriction against free travel amongst nations, caused a considerable obstacle to world commerce. Germany in the meantime having withdrawn from the League of Nations openly defied every article of the Versailles Treaty, however unjust some of its provisions might have been, reannexed some of her adjacent territories without anyone to question her. Taking advantage of Chamberlain's policy of appeasement, Hitler began to muster her armed strength, and set in motion his mighty military machine, for the conquest of Europe, the political and economic conditions of most European countries then being in a hopelessly rotten condition. England was the only thorn by his side, and the Battle of Britain and the Battle of the Atlantic were waged against her with ruthless violence with the hope of crushing her undaunted spirit. Outside Germany, is anyone in doubt as regards the final outcome of this struggle ?

Great thinkers have busied themselves during the past two years in discussing the new World Order, but can any one tell how things are going to shape themselves when peace comes? Discussions have proceeded mostly on academic lines. France still hopes to preserve her Empire, in spite of her collapse, and England has yet to declare her peace aims if victory is won, and the manner in which she is going to re-adjust her empire relations and especially her relations with India. Indian leaders still charge her with Imperialism and look askance at the declarations of war aims and peace aims by British politicians including the late Mr. Chamberlain, who confined themselves to a new **European order**, leaving the rest of the world severely alone, and India specially, thus forgetting that the crisis is a world crisis and not a European crisis.

It is necessary to realise that the crisis world-wide, as it is bound to be at the end of the war even when peace is declared, will bring about a complete change of outlook, in regard to Imperialism and the struggle between Capitalism and Labour. It will raise questions of supreme importance as regards status, rights and obligations of these nations who have and those who have not; in other words, the equitable distribution of the world's good things and the utilisation of the world's natural resources for the benefit of mankind. A complete change in the modern system of labour, exchange, currency

and international monetary relations, the establishment of an effective world leadership in the place of the League of Nations now dead, must come about. If this war is a war against the enemies of democracy, and to uphold the rights of man, liberty of thought and justice as between nations, then surely India has something to say in the matter.

How does India stand in this crisis today? There is a political deadlock in the country which every section of public opinion both in India and in England regrets. Several thousands of educated men and women who are followers of the largest organised political party in the country, are in prison. India's war effort, nevertheless, is a source of pride to this country in spite of murmurs of discontent here and there, and a matter of gratification to the English people. Do you know the commodities besides money and war materials that are being contributed by India to England's war effort? You will be surprised perhaps to hear that even matches can be included in the list.

What is England doing towards India in regard to her future is the next question that demands an answer. The position is one of great difficulty, both for India and Great Britain I admit, and he that can suggest a way out will be the wisest man of this generation. While I wish to avoid all political controversies, I still maintain that India's cause deserves far greater statesmanship on the part of

Great Britain than has hitherto been in evidence. I also maintain that India holds the key position in the world for the solution of many of its present and future difficulties; in fact, she holds the key to the world peace, if she remains as a contented member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and not as disgruntled dependency still subject to the policy of domination. Her man-power organised on a national basis and her natural resources are almost unlimited. Great Britain and India linked together in bonds of common friendship on equal terms can almost defy any country in Europe and Asia. The great soldier, Sir Ian Hamilton, speaking on the military possibilities of a free India, long ago said, "How can England hope to retain under the British crown her vast Empire permanently unless Indians are in exactly the same position of independence as Canadians and Australians today occupy?"

In one of my speeches delivered at the Rotary Club, Detroit, U.S.A., four years ago, I said, "India, autonomous and self-governing within the British Empire, will act as a bulwark against the Pan-Asiatic movement led by Japan, make peace with Pan-Islamism of western Asia, and thus help to stabilise Europe."

In the future, India's contribution to the New World Order will not be negligible and I am sure she is going to play her part nobly in this respect, if she is given the freedom to do so. Differences

there must be. What country has not ? Even England for that matter.

The first requisite is no doubt general unity and concord within, and the second, full and complete surrender of control, internal and external, and the transfer of real power of governing to the Indian peoples by Great Britain. This is a big question and cannot be discussed in a few words: but it is quite possible that the first may follow the second. The task imposed upon us by Great Britain's present Indian policy of first settling our differences within is, I fear, not a very practicable one just now, and may be characterised by future historians as not a *bonafide* one either. Why cannot Great Britain now place all her cards on the table and not wait till the end of war as she did in 1917, when she made the famous pledge declaring the Dominion Status as our goal, and make an advance by way of a further declaration. Nearly a quarter of century is indeed long enough to wait. If she does so, I am sure India will come to her no matter how many years the present war continues, and I firmly believe she will secure for herself in no distance of time, the most honourable and almost the first place amongst the Dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is too dreadful to think how the Indian situation will develop further, whether there is war or whether there is peace, if the best brains and the best minds of the two

countries, right now, do not collaborate to bring about lasting settlement. Temporary war measures are short-sighted. Defence Advisory Committees with no real power are of no use. A long view is needed and it is as much the duty of India as well as of Great Britain to turn the pivot of their angle of vision. This may bring the war to a close sooner than expected. Failing this, the war will, I fear, last a generation and embroil both Europe and Asia, God forbid that this should happen.

**Letter to the Associated Press on the
Death of Lord Willingdon
August 1941**

Now that the rush of personal tributes to the late Lord Willingdon to the press all over the country has almost spent itself, and Indians of eminence and high political status have paid their last homage, to the great Indian Viceroy and Empire statesman in eloquent words of personal regard and admiration. I feel, as one who was in no way connected with Lord Willingdon's Government though an I.C.S. man—during his years of Governorship of Madras and Viceroyalty of India, that I should say something interesting by way of recollection of this great Englishman, whom I had the privilege of knowing as a friend from the time he was Governor of Madras till his death.

My contact with Lord Willingdon commenced as Dewan of Mysore both in social and official planes. In the whole of my experience I never met an Englishman who had the uncommon gift of looking at two sides of the question. It was his personal influence that brought about a fifty years agreement between Mysore and Madras Governments over the Cauvery dispute, which till it was referred back by the Secretary of State for India after reopening it by cancellation of a final award, hung fire for 12 years. Lord

Willingdon was determined to end it amicably out of court, as it were, and succeeded in doing so to the satisfaction of both parties entirely by persuasive and practical statesmanship.

On the eve of his departure from England to assume Viceroyalty, Lord Willingdon asked me to go and see him. We had an informal talk about the Indian situation. My recollection which I have since verified from my diary is that he was in great distress at the possibility of having to govern and put Law and Order as his first duty. I was then reminded of Lord Morley's Maxim "Martial Law and no damned nonsense". I was a bit perturbed. Amidst all the chorus of praise we have recently heard, Indian opinion is naturally critical about his repressive measures. It is just and meet that we leave that to the judgment of history.

At the London interview I made a suggestion to him to appoint a non-official Indian as an additional Private Secretary. He liked the idea and wrote on the 7th of March 1931 from his London residence as follows:—

"The question of an Indian Private Secretary has been in my mind but I can't in the changing scene in India make up that mind until I have got out there and had a look round."

Nearly 18 months later in a private letter from Viceregal Lodge, Simla, he wrote as follows:—

"Here I am sorry to tell you that things are not encouraging at the moment. The nearer the Indian gets to responsibility the more does he seem to want to put difficulties in the way of our getting there. The Sapru trouble ought easily to have been settled by discussion but they all went 'Off the deep end' in a hurry, and have made it far more difficult to restore the situation. And the tragedy of it is that those who are now non-co-operating are nearly all my old friends in Bombay and Madras.

"And the communal difficulty too which they would not settle themselves and forced us to decide for them is now likely to create storms in many parts of India and it really is their own fault. The only thing to be done at this juncture is not to lose one's head, and if one could only get support for us in our efforts instead of floods of criticism I should be happier, for we are really doing our best. Let us hope the clouds will clear away before long."

Does the above extract show weakness or an internal struggle of a great mind to do his duty? We must leave the true answer again to history.

In conclusion, I may say without reserve that Lord Willingdon's strength mostly lay in fighting vested interests, and thus often creating enemies. He was the best exponent of the British character of playing the game fairly. In social relations he was

entirely free from racial prejudice and eager to show by precept and example that British prestige does not suffer, on the other hand is enhanced by friendly intercourse with Indians irrespective of caste, creed or community on a basis of absolute equality.

**Speech on the Second Anniversary of the War
given at a Public Meeting in Dehra Dun
September 1941**

It may seem odd that we are gathered here this afternoon to recall Britain's entry into the war against Hitler two years ago, and to put it in ordinary language, to celebrate the Second Anniversary. During the last twenty-four hours, we have listened to many pronouncements by responsible statesmen in England, reviewing the progress of the war during this period, and comparing the position of England today with what it was in September 1939. For us in India, too much preoccupied with our internal controversies, and till now far away from the scene of operations, it is naturally difficult to visualise in their true perspective, what changes have taken place in Europe during the past twenty-four months, and what further developments are likely to take place in the near future in the struggle against Hitlerism, which Great Britain and her allies are now engaged in.

This is I think a suitable opportunity for India to take stock of her position. When the Congress Ministers were in power in the majority of the British Provinces in the country, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter to the *News-Chronicle* of London made the following declaration:

“To India with her thirst for freedom and horror of war and violence, this question is of

paramount importance. She has reacted strongly against the philosophy and methods of Fascism and Nazi aggression and brutality, and has seen in them the negation of all she stands for. World peace for her means Freedom and Democracy and the ending of the domination of one nation over another....India will therefore gladly throw in her resources for a new order of peace and freedom."....

If all India re-emphasises these principles in one united voice, I strongly feel that it would be well for her future. From that time till now we are having constant controversies, as between various sections of Indian public opinion, and the three parties—The Congress, The All-India Moslem League and the All-India Hindu League, as regards the intentions of Great Britain towards India and her future constitution. It serves no useful purpose to indulge in a retrospect of all that has transpired, but it has to be admitted that commencing from the political deadlock, consequent upon the withdrawal of the Congress Ministers, the situation has not improved, and there is a wider gulf today, than there was before between the policy of the organised parties, than the people of this country realise.

Leaving for the moment our internal difficulties, let us turn our minds to the birth, so to speak, of the Nazi Monster of aggression early in September 1939, who suddenly sprang upon Poland to start

his mad career. From that time to now, the Monster has grown in strength and brutality, and the war he is raging has now come to the very doors of India. One would have hoped that the progress of the war would persuade the people of this country to close up their ranks and pay undivided attention to the problem of resisting Hitlerism and organising effective defence of India. All the appeals that have been so far made in, and outside India to the people of this country to forget their communal difference, have so far fallen on deaf ears and I am not presumptuous enough to suppose that whatever I may say today will have any different result. There are better spokesmen than myself who recently in the past, and who probably at this very hour are voicing their sentiments for the imperative necessity of changing the whole Indian outlook to produce in collaboration with Great Britain a much more united war effort. No one can deny that we have become vulnerable. Cannot anything be done to remove those obstacles that are unfortunately in the way of bringing all the peoples of India together at this hour of danger? In the first place, I appeal to Great Britain not to rigidly adhere to the declaration made through our Viceroy just over a year ago, but to make a fresh gesture. They have surely found that a mere promise of Dominion Status, and a reopening of the constitutional discussions at the end of the war have proved inadequate. Soon after that declaration was

made, I published a pamphlet in England "Looking Ahead in War Time", in which there is an article 'India and the War'. Here is an extract :

"The British Government have made a gesture promising Dominion Status. They may, however, go a bit further, for the Indian public now has little faith in British pledges, and make suitable changes in the present government of India and pass an emergency measure in Parliament changing the bureaucratic form of government in the centre by the introduction of responsible government for a strong National Executive, fit to undertake the responsibilities of National defence. Such an additional gesture may ease the situation as regards the communal problem. My suggestion is that full co-operation in the war with the allies will be forthcoming if the Constitution question is, as it must be, left alone, and the British Government decree that Provinces, States and minorities be grouped together on the population basis, fixing a minimum of say 50 million, each having their right to elect their leader who will then automatically find a place in the Central Cabinet."

Since then a National Executive has been formed by the appointment of eight Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council. No one can deny that this is a great advance over the previous policy. But what have Indians done to make a similar advance with

reference to their own rigid attitude when these controversies began. Have they tried to meet the British Government even half way? This is a question which demands serious consideration. Whether it is possible to make a further advance in British policy at the present juncture is a question of some difficulty, but I do believe that it is possible right now, to lay the foundation for a "Union of India", or in other words, include India in any scheme for a New World Order and to clarify the position so far this country is concerned in the now famous, historic and joint declaration of Roosevelt and Churchill. Major Atlee's amplification of this is no doubt hopeful, but is it authoritative? When he says, it is applicable as much to the peoples of Asia and Africa as to those of Europe. Great Britain therefore, on her own responsibility, should make this point clear, and take some steps towards the formation of a Union of India on a dominion basis starting discussions if necessary, during the war, as was done in 1917. She should guard against the creation of another Ulster in India. The Irish example ought to be a warning. It is either union or separation, and disunion for ever. If India's future hangs in the balance throughout the duration of the war, there will be unsurmountable obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement later.

As regards the possibilities of bringing about an improvement in the internal political condition of the country, is it difficult for the three great parties—

the Congress, the All-India Moslem League and the All-India Hindu League to come to a gentleman's agreement, to stop all further propaganda, suspend all meetings and allow their members full freedom of action, without incurring disciplinary action by their leaders. I wish Indians could realise the true war situation to-day. I quote from the most recent speech of Mr. Roosevelt on this point.....

He said:

"I give a solemn warning to those who think that Hitler has been blocked and halted that they are making a very dangerous assumption. When in any war your enemy seems to be making less progress than he did the year before that is the very moment to strike with redoubled force".

"The task of defeating Hitler may be long and arduous. There are a few appeasers and Nazi sympathizers who say it cannot be done. They even ask me to negotiate with Hitler—to pray for crumbs from his victorious table. They do in fact ask me to become a modern Benedict Arnold and betray all I hold dear, my devotion to our freedom, to our churches, to our country. This course I have rejected. I reject it again. Instead I know I speak for the conscience and determination of the American people, when I say we shall do everything in our power to crush Hitler and his Nazi forces.".....

Only last night, did we not hear on the Wireless, that even in England there are people in every grade of society, who are not quite sure what we are fighting for? We are fighting for our very existence, especially now, and we are fighting for those very principles, which are so forcibly emphasised in Jawaharlal Nehru's eloquent pronouncement already quoted. Leaving Government alone for the present, what is our duty? I think they come under the following three heads....

(1) Mobilising all available man-power for the defence of India.

(2) Industrialisation of the country on a permanent basis, thus to provide immediately the means of polling the possibilities of our resources in every province and state, by non-official co-operation of capital and labour separating economic developments from politics, and thus lay the foundation of a permanent economic policy in India as a whole, on a comprehensive basis instead of taking up schemes here and there in a piece-meal fashion.

(3) Organise immediately for home defence through non-official initiative and consultation, Civic Guard volunteers on a gigantic scale, who will give part of their spare time and energy to defend strategic points in their areas, as was done in England in 1940, when the Island was threatened by invasion.

If we are determined to live as a free nation or a group of nations now that the war is entering on its

third year, we should resolve to throw into the struggle all our yet untapped resources, and our full man-power thereby, increasing India's whole-hearted war effort with unreserved co-operation with Great Britain. .

In conclusion, let me appeal to one and all present here to-day. Firstly, to realise the grave danger that confronts us. Secondly, to make every possible sacrifice in our power that will lead Great Britain and her allies to victory, with a Capital V.

**Broadcast Speech at Lucknow on
"Planned Living"
October 1941**

Planned living is a subject which can be approached from two different points of view. One affecting the individual in his relations with his fellow-beings, and the other affecting people in groups in villages, towns and cities. The former is too vast a subject to deal with, specially in relation to India where no two individuals taken at random belong to the same standard of living, have the same manner of food, speech or dress, or follow similar customs as regards their domestic habits. I shall, therefore, deal with the second aspect and give some ideas as to how planned living can be taken up as a practical proposition, in this country as a whole.

EUROPEAN CONDITIONS

In European countries problems confronting us in India do not arise, for there is a certain amount of standardisation in the living conditions of the people, even amongst those who follow different religions and come from a different racial stock. Though planned living is not so important, even there it is given constant attention. In America every big city such as Chicago is almost rebuilt every ten years to suit changed conditions. Davis, the then Labour Minister, told me in 1926 that England

being conservative, preserved old towns for tradition's sake; hence there was unemployment. Even in conservative England there is a new movement of planned living. Have you heard of the Ideal Home Exhibition in London, held every year till war broke out, showing full sized model dwellings to suit all pockets, model kitchens and bathrooms, alas ! so often neglected ?

IN INDIA

Coming now nearer home, there is no country in the world as India, where there is absence of planned living in most things to adapt modes of living to the environment which is constantly changing. It seems almost a paradox that everything seems to be planned for us by our social customs often founded by religious sanctions, interdicting certain ways of living and enjoining certain others. Hindus are entirely governed from their birth by their caste regulations and thereafter by their external environment. Other communities, such as Moslems, Parsees, Sikhs, Jains and Jews in lesser degree are also governed by their religious or communal laws of living, most of which are specially suited to their respective culture and tradition. From this point of view there is, in fact, too much planned living in most things in this country, in which the individual does not come in except in so far as he belongs to a group.

Taking living conditions first, caste rules amongst the Hindus prescribe grouping together in one locality or street in the village, different castes following different trades and professions from the highest caste Brahmins downwards. The lowest orders accustomed to do menial work have been segregated outside its limits. This tendency of mutually exclusive habitations, is deep-rooted and is prevalent, as we all know, amongst practically all castes and communities in a greater or lesser degree. Dwelling houses, bathing and other arrangements follow domestic customs and habits. Food is also primarily governed by habits of caste or community based on religious injunctions; as for example, vegetarian and non-vegetarian diet. The diet of the Punjabi is totally different from the diet of the Madrasi, or the Bengali. Customs prevailing at child-birth, puberty, marriage and funerals vary according to the social regulations of each group. The individual has not the freedom therefore to choose his own plan of living even in matters of dress. The abject poverty of the masses has a great deal to do in limiting the necessities of life to the barest minimum.

LIMITED SCOPE

Thus we see that there is a limited scope for planned living in the case of the individual who constitutes part of a particular group or community,

caste and sub-caste. Each has to follow the plan set out for him by the rigid system of his own group to which he belongs. Amongst the millions stricken with poverty there is little outside influence or effort to help them out of their present depressed conditions. Any plan to improve their living is beset with many difficulties. From my own personal experience I can give three specific instances. About 40 years ago, an attempt I made for establishing a model town in the headquarters of the district I served met with severe opposition from the high caste Hindus, as the plan provided for huts for the depressed classes who were given sanitary dwellings on the site allotted to them. The Government of H. H. the late Maharaja of Mysore opened all schools to the depressed classes. The higher castes boycotted the schools and withdrew their children. This opposition was also overcome in six months' time. About the same time the sweepers of the city of Mysore were removed from their old sites and given model huts. The poor sweepers left the place after a week complaining that the huts had too much light and air. This opposition was also overcome by cajoling and coaxing and they were brought back.

LACK OF CO-ORDINATION

Amongst the educated and enlightened, great and fundamental changes are taking place in their outlook and mode of living. Individual freedom

is asserting itself even in matters of social life, such as marriage. Plans for rural re-construction, drive against illiteracy, organisations for social service and uplift are in evidence in the national life of the country.

In all these movements, however, collective and co-ordinated action is lacking owing to the inherent difficulties of our social and religious system in which we live.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

To my mind, in order to introduce planned living, it is necessary in the first place to raise the standard of education amongst the masses and also raise their standard of living. What cannot be achieved by propaganda and social service can be brought about by cautious legislation which will appeal to the leaders of all sects and communities, specially in matters of physical well-being and economic uplift. In regard to the first, a great deal is being done. Research in matters of diet and malnutrition is being conducted. Physical culture is encouraged in various forms. The governments of provinces in British India and of many Indian states have many schemes in hand for village improvement and better living conditions, but the progress is slow. What I would advocate is the preparation of a five-year plan for every province, state, district, and tehsil, covering every field, to improve the physical, material and moral condition of the

people. But no scheme of planned living amongst people in groups can be successful without finance. A larger share of the resources of each administrative unit may have to be earmarked for such a purpose.

To safeguard against unprofitable spending in respect of all schemes for planned living amongst groups of people, it is necessary to secure the services of qualified experts with detailed knowledge of local conditions as regards requirements of sanitary dwellings, prevention of diseases, economic development and universal education. In these fields the government everywhere in India can do much, but not all. Much depends on self-help and reform from within. Moreover, my experience tells me that without the spread of education and propaganda by local authorities in India, the poor people will not take advantage of plans for better living, however well-meant they may be.

THE ENVIRONMENT

We are sometimes inclined to make the mistake in all these endeavours of planned living, of ignoring the environment such as climate, landscape and our neighbours. All our designs have to be drawn up, suited to the locality and within the means of local inhabitants; and for this the services of specialised architects, social workers and educationists are necessary. An expensive elementary school building standing out amongst village dwelling

huts built with mud and bamboo would be out of place; and so would be a building of Saracenic architecture in a Hindu village.

Government policy in the past, though sympathetic, has been hampered by the apprehension lest religious scruples of the people might be offended by what may be regarded as external interference. But I feel that as the Indian people themselves are becoming more advanced and more responsive to reform, now is the opportunity for systematic effort in the domain of planned living, be it sanitation, better housing, laws against food adulteration, prevention of epidemics and many other evils from which the people of this country suffer.

LIVE AND LET LIVE

Lastly, in any scheme of planned living, live and let live should be the motto. The various communities should be brought up to the idea of harmony and peace. Then only can there be a three-fold development of body, mind and spirit, through which we shall reach the height of mundane perfection within the limits of our own special environments.

**Speech before the Rotary Club, Asansol
on "Russia"
December 1941**

The journey to Russia was an interesting experience. I included that country in my tour after having visited Scandinavia and Finland. I travelled by a night train from Helsinki to the Russian border where I expected there would be some commotion owing to change of trains and passing from one frontier to another. I was told that we should have to carry our own baggage for customs examination and the scrutiny of pass-ports would take a long time. Fortunately however, I was given a letter by the then Russian Consul in Finland to the Frontier Customs Officer, and with the help of this letter I was transferred from one train to another without any difficulty and my luggage was taken care of by the Russian Station staff. To my great surprise however, I found that I was not going by the ordinary train but was transferred to a special train as a distinguished visitor in which the President of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad was travelling. We got to Leningrad quite in advance of the ordinary time-table by this special and was put up in a Hotel called Hotel Metropole—very much dilapidated in condition and then I arranged through the In-Tourist the details of my programme.

As time is short for this talk to enable me to deal with this vast subject, I shall have to condense my remarks to a very great extent. One may expect to hear from me what Communism has done for Russia, how far Capitalistic countries were justified in treating Bolshevism as a menace, is Communism ever likely to conquer the world and lastly, how is it suited to India for the solution of her economic problems. The first question relates to the internal history of the revolution, the second and third both internal and external, and fourth concerns the future of India.

I must confess that the opportunity to travel and see a vast country like Russia is very limited. There is always the language difficulty and when one sees only parts, the picture when joined together seems disjointed.

My impressions of a two months' tour undertaken a decade ago may seem valueless just now. I am presumptuous in suggesting a talk on this subject which deals with things long past out of date. Yet, now that Russia is our ally, it is perhaps not an unwarranted inference that sooner or later Russia and Western democracies may join hands against what stands for Nazism of Germany aiming at world domination.

Both countries are ruled by Dictators—and their methods are brutal; with this difference that Russia aimed at mobilisation of labour for production

on a vast scale, in agriculture and industry. Large number of Germans and Americans were employed in Russia to develop industries during the Five-Year Plan. Germany gave brains and Russia had muscles. It was like training an Elephant to move with bigger eyes and see things all round. This German co-operation may have been a very subtle move on the part of Pan-Germanism; and yet Russia also soon after the revolution cultivated her friendship with China and made many attempts to lower British prestige. It is a question whether she had designs to obtain mastery of Asia. The famous General Skobeleff said.... "The stronger Russia becomes in Central Asia, the weaker will England become in India, and the more accommodating in Europe."

Anyhow, world politics and diplomacy no longer remain the same since Germany and Russia marched into Poland simultaneously and became co-aggressors, and also when Russia started the Russo-Finnish War in the winter of 1939. To-day she is our ally on account of German aggression right into the heart of her vast territories. You may draw any conclusions you like from these quick march of events, and visualise the New World Order that is in the making after the cessation of hostilities.

Just right now, Russia is the headline of news all the world over and attention is rivetted to the Eastern front. If one can go back ten years and

take note of what was then going on, one may perhaps find a few links in the chain of momentous happenings since the present war broke out.

My talk is however intended to be non-controversial and I wish to give a few impressions of my visit which are perhaps superficial and may be considered like those of other visitors, hasty and one-sided in their conclusions, so please take them for what they are worth.

I prepared myself for my visit by studying a few representative books about the economic, political and social conditions of Russia. They are :

Knickerbocker: 'Soviet Five-Year Plan.'

Rene-Fulop-Miller: 'The Mind and Face of Bolshevism.'

Loder: 'Bolshevism in Perspective.'

Chamberlain: 'Soviet Russia.'

O'Flaherty: 'I Went to Russia.'

Hindus: 'Humanity Uprooted.'

I also met Knickerbocker and was lucky in getting a few introductions before leaving Finland. Relations between England and Russia at that time were not favourable for a visit, though Ramsay MacDonald's government through Henderson, Foreign Minister, tried to redeem some of the mistakes of British policy which alienated Russia's feeling towards England. This as you know culminated later with the arrest of many British technicians who were charged with sabotage and tried.

Literature about Russia I found conflicting. No two books about Russia agreed. Those of British origin were hostile and over-critical. Fear of Communism spreading in England was the main cause. Propaganda by Russian refugees from the highest aristocrats to the poor capitalists which spread doctrine of hate being exiles, is another cause of misunderstanding.

My English friends said I would never come back from Russia and there was really nothing much to learn from that country. In spite of all the information I gained by my study, my visit was an eye-opener as I learnt at first hand many things which were contrary to the average British outlook.

First and foremost I learnt that the brutal methods of Bolshevism which started with the violent seizure of property at the outbreak of the revolution, the forcible mobilisation of labour and the abolition of money were all means to an end to establish not a new political creed but a new religion on which a new system of society could be based and the power of Government transferred to the Proletariat.

The Five-Year Plan though criticised as a failure was at least sixty per cent. a success, though not without tremendous sacrifice on the part of the people. Russia at that time of my visit absorbed by industrialisation sixty-five per cent. of her natural resources, twenty-five per cent. on cultural revolution, divided into Education and Health services, and only ten per cent. on administration and defence.

In one of the journals of VOKS, which was a Soviet Union Society for cultural relations with foreign countries, I found the following few sentences:

"...The philosopher Plato was right when he said that the 'chief causes of disagreement and fighting were private property and women.' The revolution removed this cause and at the same time the equality of woman has had a very great effect on our life in general. We must remark this because in the 'Woman Movement' of the West, the aim is to benefit women only and not society in general. Questions of love, marriage, family, which in the old world are considered as belonging exclusively to woman's sphere, are with us considered of equal interest to every member of society without distinction of sex."

Forty-two per cent. of the total number of women in the country were engaged in the Five-Year Plan excluding those engaged in building work and social feeding. Sex does not enter into the question of woman's labour at all. Women were free from domestic slavery and the protection of women was entirely in their own hands. Women workers are given every month three days' leave and when she is expected to be confined two months' holiday.

In the Collective Farms, the position of women was a little difficult. They were anxious about children and often stole the babies from the creches

just as the peasants stole horses away from the collective field.

Amongst personal reminiscences only a few may be mentioned. Everywhere I went there were numerous loudspeakers to gain the ear of the people no matter what they were doing, at work, or at play, eating, at the restaurants, or walking along the pavements.

All the museums of pre-revolution Russia have been carefully preserved, Russian Art and Russian music is being fostered. The park of leisure in Moscow for recreation and amusements is one of the greatest examples of Soviet attempt to improve the outlook of the people. Community and Factory kitchens on a gigantic scale, conducted on strict hygienic principles, also struck me as the most modern attempt to provide healthy food for the people and to reduce domestic drudgery. In contrast to the German method of pride, race and the ideal of producing a pure type of Aryans, in Russia there was an encouragement of mating through natural selection, and intermingling of races.

The anti-religious museums were a characteristic of the Atheism of youth and the policy of government to discourage any form of religious worship. They were full of exaggerated and distorted paintings and pictures of religious prophets of the world to prove to the people that religion was the primary cause of human suffering and animosity.

The main object of Russian education was the development of technique, to divest the minds of prepossessions regarding family life, religious beliefs and desire for individual gain. My Russian Communist Guide said, "In old Russia there was a Church, in new Russia there is the House of Culture".

As regards sanitation and public health, modern Russia regarded it more from the communistic point of view. Private baths were not encouraged in residential houses and apartments. My guide said, "I cannot understand why people are so insistent on having private baths. In Russia we only take collective baths and never more than once a week, sometimes once a month." He added, that though he had a private bath in his house he never used it. I witnessed nude bathing in the river just outside Moscow practised both by men and women though separated from each other.

In Russia I was told there were 150 nationalities, 80 literary and 7 official languages, and there were newspapers in most of them, and in not a few the alphabet was nationalised.

When I went to see the castle of Alexandrina where the last Czar Nicholas and his family were arrested, I was struck with the preciseness with which everything was preserved as they were when they were taken away for being murdered. Even the Czarina's writing-table and odds and ends,

Rasputin's picture and many other articles were left as they were to show how ugly and decadent and degenerate the life of the Czar and his Consort was.

The most interesting factory I visited round about Moscow was the Electric Factory producing transformers, tractors, electric lamps, etc., with forty-two per cent. women operatives. The motto of this factory was "Communism means Soviet Power plus Electrification".

In answer to the four points that arise in the minds of most people to which I have already referred I can give my own personal impressions as follows:

(1) What has Communism done for Russia?

Ans.—Improvement of the condition of the peasants, development of natural resources and industrialisation. Universal education and compulsory abolition of illiteracy. Improvement of the position of women. Encouragement of literature on the basis of merit, also of the younger intelligentsia imbued with communistic ideas, encouragement in the increase of population which was three to four million per annum with a population of 150 million as against only $2\frac{1}{2}$ million increase, with a population of 370 million in the rest of Europe.

(2) How far Capitalistic countries are justified in treating Bolshevism as a menace?

Ans.—The Russian answer is that they fear economic conquests. The British Empire, specially

England, viewed Bolshevism with distrust and suspicion, feared Persia and Turkey becoming easy victims, the extension of Russian influence over China, specially amongst students, who were becoming most aggressive. Russia was described as a European power with interest in Asia, but hanging into an Asiatic power with interest in Europe.

(3) Whether Communism is ever likely to conquer the world.

Ans.—The answer is NO in my opinion. A more rational form of socialism is likely to spread. The destruction of private property by ruthless measures is futile. Russia itself is slowly becoming partly Capitalistic and will adopt the compromise between the extreme form of capitalism and an extreme form of socialism.

(4) Is Communism suited to India to solve her economic problems?

Ans.—The answer to this is also NO. The great problem of poverty in India cannot be solved by Communism. She must learn from Russia improvement in agriculture, drive against illiteracy and industrialisation on a vast scale, to raise the general standard of living amongst the masses.

In conclusion, what the New World Order will be as between Socialism, Communism and Fascism, lies on the laps of the Gods. Dictatorships may spring up in regional areas be it Asia, Europe or America. The fate of individual nations and their

dependence will hang in the balance unless they combine into a federation and establish a new kind of league for common defence, with an effective and powerful organisation to resist and nip in the bud aggression from any quarter.

NOTE.—*The World Organisation was framed at St. Francisco four years later.*

**Notes on a Scheme of Mr. Manu Subedar
for an Anti-Communal League**

1942

The idea of an anti-communal league is an excellent one, but certain fundamental factors have to be recognised, specially applicable to India and these are very vividly described in the leaflet published as a reprint from the '*Blitz*'—a weekly news magazine—of Bombay.

The communal spirit is decidedly on the increase even amongst the major groups of castes and communities in India, although an attempt is being made by the major groups to form a powerful organisation to bring together the divergent elements amongst them. The Moslems consider the Hindu-Moslem tension as due to economic and not entirely religious causes, and the communal problem has been mixed up with the minority problem in regard to constitutional changes that have been introduced in the past, and may come in the future when an agreement is in sight. One of the great Moslem leaders went so far as to say that even in such provinces as Bengal where the Moslems enjoy a nominal superiority, they are a minority community for all practical purposes. Summarising the position on the basis of statistics, this leader expressed the opinion that the Moslems are in a hopeless minority in these provinces, while in the Punjab and Bengal their majority is ineffective.

As essential safeguards the Moslems have urged separate electorates, and now we have the scheme of Pakistan put forward by the All-India Moslem League. The problem therefore is, how is unity to be established when there are so many social, political and economic considerations, fundamental and deep-rooted, before any anti-communal propaganda can be started. In the government of the country, the communal problem has to be dealt with differently. Any social reform and much of the propaganda work has to be done by social reformers within each group. No one considers the existence of communal feeling in India as a desirable one, but very few have taken the subject as a whole—each section dealing with it either from the political or constitutional or the social point of view. Without the spread of mass education and fair play and justice to the whole population of India, by which distrust and misunderstandings can be removed, there is no hope that the communal problem will ever find a solution. If, therefore, a League is to be established, it must be sponsored by the leading political thinkers and organisers who have a large following at present. It cannot be gainsaid that Mr. Gandhi, the greatest leader in India, after many attempts made to bring about Hindu-Moslem Unity has practically given up the task as hopeless. Is there any chance now, when we are so sharply divided to find a selected number of outstanding public men in the country who can agree and act

together on a common platform, and also separately, within their respective groups to bring about a change in the present unsatisfactory state of affairs ?

The first suggestion that strikes one is, to have intensive propaganda through leaflets, bulletins, and a periodical or journal to be published in all the main languages. Secondly, to entrust the work of active propaganda to a few public-spirited men who can go about the country and lecture to the schools, colleges and other organisations. Thirdly, the League has to declare its policy in regard to the burning questions of the day, such as Pakistan, Liberty or religious belief, marriages amongst the different communities, principle of representation in the Central Legislature, encouragement of backward communities, and lastly, the guarantees of minority population irrespective of community or creed. The League is not likely to be successful unless it declares its general policy to the public at large on all these questions.

After attending the meeting which Mr. Manu Subedar summoned and listening to the discussions on the rough notes he put forward, I find that practical action in regard to the movement of the League is beset with many difficulties. These have first to be solved as it were, by clearing the deck, for people belonging to different communities or races or religions are so imbued with different customs, traditions and beliefs that common action amongst them is

almost impossible. As regards the exclusion of certain matters such as religion, marriage, funeral ceremonies, all these are really founded on religion and customs and usages, so each member of the League will have to be left with full liberty of action as regards such matters.

Together with religion there are social habits based on religious sanction such as inter-dining, taking of water from other castes under which comes paragraph (1) positive activities, "Hindu Tea and Moslem Pani". You cannot compel people to give up their religious scruples and it is better to leave these scruples untouched for the League will have to face stern opposition. The League's activities will no doubt from the beginning start with educated people, and we must not attempt to destroy susceptibilities in regard to the social life of the country, for then there will be sturdy opposition. What is required is not an anti-communal league but a fellowship of religions and religious sects and communities which will bring them together, unless of course the country throughout by propaganda is encouraged to give up all religions as in Russia. Better call it Inter-Communal Fellowship.

The same remark applies to economic activities. I mean if we are going to interfere with funds for scholarships or charitable endowments, etc., we are interfering with individual liberty which always works for vested interests starting from the family.

You cannot prevent a father from leaving his property to his son, similarly you cannot prevent a rich man from leaving his fortune for the amelioration of his own community. Unless you have nationalism where the State does everything and the private property is abolished, we cannot interfere with these matters. Clubs, social institutions, gymkhanas and baths should all be nationalised and should be organised through the State not through private effort, for as soon as that is allowed to creep in there must be communalism. Same about restaurants, apartments, building societies, etc.

It is almost an utopian idea that outside religion, marriage and death, we can have no differences of any kind to separate the people who are now sharply divided into different sects and communities. Religion, marriage, birth and death comprise the whole life of the people.

The crux of the whole problem is the necessity to change the whole situation under which the society lives now. Where there is capitalism, vested interests, sharp likes and dislikes, these cannot be destroyed without a stern hand of a Dictator like Mustafa Kemal of Turkey or Lenin of Russia.

**Speech at a Luncheon Meeting of the Rotary Club,
Bombay, on " Union of India—A Suggestion "**

June 1942

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The question that is uppermost in the minds of all sections of the Indian people and their leaders is, whether it is possible just now to bring all the political parties together with a view not only to meet the emergent situation that has arisen for the defence of India, but also to discuss proposals for the future political status of the country. In regard to the latter, the constitution of the Government of India at the centre is receiving the largest share of attention.

The Premier of the Punjab, several months ago stated, that all parties and interests should reach a convention under which they should devote their entire attention and energy to the successful prosecution of the war and securing the proper defence of India. It is sad to think that this has not as yet come about.

During the past several years the claims of minorities and specially the Hindu-Moslem differences have constantly engaged the minds of our leaders without a satisfactory settlement being reached, and now there is a political deadlock. There is also the battle-cry of Pakistan from the All-India Muslim League which has aroused bitter opposition of the

Hindu-Mahasabha and other non-Moslem groups. In other words, the communal tension is acute. The policy of the Congress since the resignation of their Ministers has culminated in the Bardoli resolutions now being discussed with various interpretations by the Indian public.

Let me go back for a moment to a few political declarations of Moslem leaders since 1930, to show how the idea of Pakistan has evolved. More than a decade ago the Moslem view-point confined itself chiefly to the protection of the communal interests of the Moslems, under two main heads, namely:—

- (1) Representation by separate electorates.
- (2) Representation in the public services.

In 1928 Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan published a pamphlet entitled "*What are the Rights of the Moslem Minority in India*"? At that time the Moslems did not conceive the idea of territorial redistribution and the leading exponents demanded protection of their minority rights through separate electorates. They also claimed a certain percentage of representation in the All-India and Provincial cabinets which was then fixed at a minimum of 33%.

The Moslem view-point has widened very much since. In 1940 at the Session in Lahore, the All-India Muslim League, resolved as follows:—

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that

no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designated on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the Constituent Units should be autonomous and Sovereign."

I wish to underline the word Sovereign.

Pakistan conception has evolved from this idea, and taking by itself is regarded by non-Moslem groups as a separatist movement, intended to break up the unity of India as a whole.

I should like to state that in 1939 a remarkable book was published by Clarence Streit, under the title "*Union Now*" in which the writer proposed the establishment of a federal government by the peoples of fifteen democracies in Europe and America including the British Empire. Strangely enough, it excluded India as not being fit just then to be considered as a full-fledged democracy.

If such a union had been created and India included therein with full dominion status, it is doubtful whether Hitler could have had his way in regard to his lust for world domination.

Countries enjoying full independence have not been able to retain it or their territorial integrity. In the New World Order smaller nations even independent must come into a Union of this kind as advocated by Streit, for they are politically helpless, victims of diplomacy of stronger nations, and often economically they are starved out of existence.

The object of such a Union would really be:

- (1) To gain strength by securing adherence and allegiance of weaker neighbours promising them protection in return.
- (2) Combination of States as sovereign states in a country or group of countries containing many races, creeds, languages, and cultures, each living in peace and concord without any territorial ambitions of expansion against each other.
- (3) Common defence against a common enemy utilising to the fullest extent material resources of the whole union, including its man-power.

The more I think about the matter, the more I am convinced that the whole sub-continent of India could be constituted into a union more or less on the lines of the Union of South Africa, but providing adequate safeguards for peace and concord which must entail territorial readjustments. In other words, India may be developed into not one Dominion but many in view of distinct racial,

linguistic and religious differences amongst her people under one federal centre.

The religious cleavage in India is intensified by the constitution of India into a single State. If India were a group of States, the religious factor would be entirely eliminated from the whole area with the exception of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Punjab. Arrangements could however be made to deal with the difficulties in those two provinces. Proper political organisation will ensure peace. The Government of India is a British invention. The map of India is a British creation. Before the British came to India, India was never formed into a single State. It is the machinery of the Government of India which renders British rule in India necessary, because only a foreign power can hold the differing Indian peoples together in a single political State.

The solution of the political problem in India is the substitution of the Empire of India by a League of Dominions, Kingdoms and Tribal Lands. Out of what is known as British India, thirteen racially and linguistically homogeneous Dominions could be constituted. Bengal might be made a Dominion with two autonomous provinces so that the Hindus would form one province and Moslems the other. In none of those Dominions would the Hindu-Moslem question arise.

The predominantly Muslim districts of the

United Provinces may be constituted into a Muslim State with Lucknow as its capital and Urdu as the official language, and the rest of the United Provinces may be constituted into a Hindu State with Hindi as the official language. In that way both communities would be conciliated. The North-West Frontier Province should be united with the predominantly Muslim districts of the Punjab and constituted into a Muslim Dominion of the Punjab. The Lahore division (approximately) would make a Dominion of Sikhs, and the rest of the present Punjab would form a Hindu Dominion. The racial or rather communal tangle in this part of the country, largely the sequel of the canal colonies formed under British Rule, can be dealt with by resettlement, to which the Punjabi born emigrant as he is, would have no objection.

These suggestions do not cover South India, but the people of South India like the Moslems of Northern India have been crying for separate territorial redistribution which may be made somewhat on the following lines:

The Madras Presidency is territorially grouped together as one province, with the Tamil, Telegu and Malayalam peoples. They moreover, include amongst themselves different cultures and creeds, and are also divided by language. There is no objection to give the Dravidians who consider themselves to be original founders of the Dravidian

culture a Dravidistan consisting of Tinnevelly, Madura, Trichinopoly, Tangore, South Arcot, Chingleput and Madras. The whole of the Northern Circars likewise which are sharply divided by reason of racial characteristics, language, and also religious observations and customs may be given a Telegustan or the Andhra Desa as it is called, and this may comprise all the Telegu districts where Telegu is the official language. There is on the West Coast of India, the Malabar country which has its own social system, *viz.*, Matriarchal, according to which succession is traced from the female line. The cultural differences between the Tamil, Telegu and the Malabar peoples are great. There is no reason why the Malayalees should not have their own sovereign State comprising of the whole west coast of India which lies the two Indian States of Travancore and Cochin, which may form separate kingdoms. I have only to add that the population of Bengal, Behar, Tamilnad, Malabar and other proposed divisions is sufficiently large and the territories geographically distinct to render the constitution of sovereign States easy. Sind, Behar and Orissa, also Assam have already acquired provincial status. Now the Indian Army is defending the Malaya States, Burma and Ceylon. Why not include them also in this Union of India, with independent sovereign status as dominions for they cannot exist or protect their independence without such a Union.

I give these views for what they are worth. The territories in British India and the Indian States when they are raised to the rank of dominions or kingdoms may enter into a covenant and form a League of Indian Dominions with mandatory powers over such areas which cannot be constituted thus: as Tribal Lands. The covenant would give the League effective executive powers under which would function the All-India Police Force, and Equity Tribunal founded on the lines of the International Court of Justice at the Hague, the All-India Air Force, and the All-India Navy.

The question of the All-India constitution such as a Union Parliament, the representation of the Dominions therein are naturally complicated and cannot be discussed within the limited time at my disposal. The constitution of Soviet Russia including with in the Soviet Union various Republics with more nationalities than India has, languages and religious distinctions, may suit as a model. Under such a scheme of the Union of India, as I have put before you, all the so-called Separatist Demands such as Pakistan, Dravidistan, etc., may be reconciled and details may be worked out to the satisfaction of all parties and peoples through a Constituent Assembly or by a Round Table Conference at which the leaders including the Premiers of the late Congress Government may be summoned. This may not only pave the way for a more united

and effective war effort, but also build the foundation for a Union which will be an example to the world and which will be in the closest possible alliance with the two greatest democracies—Great Britain and the United States of America. In this Union, India will occupy an honourable place and be a Guardian of the future World Peace as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Notes on Pakistan

March 1941

There is little that so far has come out in public that gives any clear indication as to what Pakistan means. Generally speaking, as the opponents have alleged, it is a scheme of separation and as people from outside of India have interpreted, it is a repetition of the Ulster Movement as in Ireland. One would have supposed that after all these months and months of controversy, the air would be cleared by some definition of the scheme of separation to be worked out in detail. But the Lahore session of the Muslim League in March 1940 passed a resolution which gives some idea of Pakistan. Section 3 of that resolution says, "geographically contiguous units should be demarcated into regions which would be so constituted with such territorial readjustments that they may be necessary with the areas in which the Moslems are numerically a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zone of India and should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units should be autonomous and sovereign." It is clear from this resolution that India is to be divided into two, viz., Pakistan and Hindustan and Pakistan was to be an independent and a separate sovereign state. It has never been clearly explained how the sovereignty of Pakistan can be newly created to function side by side with Hindustan. If the Moslems are crying as a nation

calling for a home like the Jews in Palestine and the Communists in China, have all the difficulties been adequately anticipated in any scheme of bifurcation of a country into different sovereignties? The logical outcome of such a separation means civil war without any central authority to control and determine the relationship of sovereign units. There are other difficulties. Supposing Moslem states are established where they are in the majority, there will still be the problems of the minority confronting those states. Then again, when a state is newly created as we see in Europe today since the Nazi aggressive policy was spread with all its ruthless brutality in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria, there will be a great difficulty for a humane application of the necessity to settle people in countries which are foreign to them. If in Bengal a Moslem state is created taking this as an example, there will be migration of the Hindus who are a minority to the other parts. Who is going to organise such migrations from Province to Province, State to State unless there is an All-India inter-statal body with full powers to deal with this matter. The ideology of this Pakistan business is fundamentally based on the fear that under a democratic system of government which in the majority rule must prevail, there will be in India, a Hindu Raj with the predominance of Hindu influence prejudicial to the interests of the Moslems. Can that be justification for the introduction of such a drastic revolutionary

measure in a country where for 500 years or more Hindus and Moslems have lived in amity and concord. If old states are dismembered and new states are created on an artificial basis granting for a moment that a Central Federal Authority will be established hereafter or the British Government sanctions such a measure, who will settle all the disputes about frontiers, boundaries, about the numerical strength of the Majority and the Minority, for there cannot be in India an exclusively Moslem kingdom unless Hindus or any other caste or community are expelled from the States. It is presumed that the Moslem elements of the population will not take interest in the formation of any Hindu kingdom or States, for if India is to be divided as proposed by Mr. Jinnah, there will be at least two-fifths of India to be settled thus, in which Moslem population would move bag and baggage to exclusively Moslem states, but there will still remain in Hindu kingdoms a certain percentage of population which will be Moslem.

Apart from general objections which have been put forward by the Hindu Mahasabha and other non-Moslem organisations in this country, I have not come across a closer study of the Pakistan scheme of Mr. Jinnah, and perhaps this is due to the fact that the scheme itself is in an embryonic state and therefore it is hard to get into grip with the details and criticise them on any ground, political, economic and administrative.

The question therefore arises, whether we should take Mr. Jinnah seriously or whether we should consider his putting forward this scheme as a mere political move only for the purpose of embarrassing the British Government in these critical periods, or coercing Hindus to accept Moslem terms which in many respects are far in excess of the legitimate measures of protection which the Hindu majority appear quite willing to agree to.

Apart from the criticism that a re-distribution of territorial areas into new political units is almost a herculean task, there are many other objections which only the practical administrator can foresee. I will summarise them briefly as far as possible within the limits of this note.

India to-day has got large all-India problems cropping up every now and then, and the establishment of a purely sovereign Moslem state in certain areas will make the administration of these all-India problems most difficult, nay impossible. The Civil and Criminal jurisdiction which is now standardized throughout the country will have to be remodelled. New laws will have to be enacted and the days when Moslems lived amicably with the Hindus as their neighbours carrying on their trade, commerce and other activities without molestation or hindrance will be numbered. Tariff and custom problems, free exchange of commerce will present numerous difficulties.

In one of the most recent pronouncements of Mr. Jinnah we find some clue to the solution of the problem. Even here although some geographical divisions are made, no details are given as to the total population both as regards Moslems as well as Hindus. It is quite clear that whichever way the plan for separation is made, there cannot be an absolutely exclusive Moslem State unless the Minority Hindu and the Minority Moslem population migrate after being deprived of their rights and property which they have acquired through generations by living on the soil.

In conclusion, it should be fairly stated that if by some chance Mr. Jinnah is made the Dictator of India and given a free hand to effect such a partition, he will be confronted with overwhelming obstacles even from amongst his own followers. These followers may in fact be as numerous as those of the opposite camp.

In these circumstances is it not desirable that the British Government should right now declare their own policy about the matter and not allow things to drift, and the agitation to gain momentum through propaganda based on religious differences and communal prejudice.

We may very well take a lesson from what is happening in China as between the Communist Party which is really not a Party but an organisation to establish sovereignty with their own army and

administrators as against the National Party. For we see that between the two there has been a constant clash of interests and no attempt to reconcile the differences has as yet succeeded. In India there is grim prospect of civil war in its worst form if the Moslem policy of Pakistan is carried to its logical extent in the teeth of the opposition of the Hindu majority. It is therefore all the more incumbent on the Indian statesmen to find a solution which in rough lines I indicated in my speech before the Rotary Club in Bombay.

**Lecture on "Pre-War Economic Conditions of
Europe and After" to the Historical Society
of the Elphinstone College, Bombay
August 1942**

This is a subject which requires an Economic Expert to deal with—an expert who knows the language as well as the economic evolution of European countries during the last quarter of a century. It is presumptuous therefore, on my part, who can lay claim to nothing but meagre knowledge of Europe through my travels, to suggest that I should speak to this Society on such a complicated question. The subject moreover relates to past history, though recent and may not be so interesting as some of the burning questions of the day: nevertheless I have chosen it to stimulate study and reasearch in your Society.

It would be interesting for this audience to know that since the conclusion of the last War in 1918 when the Armstice was signed, I visited Europe in 1919-22 and made a tour around the World in 1926. In 1929 I made an extensive European tour travelling through Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Belgium and France. During the years 1931-33 I again travelled in most of these European countries and in addition Spain, Poland, Balaeric Islands, Sicily, Norway, Sweden, Finland and also Russia.

The European economic crisis can be traced from 1921 to 1929 and my travels therefore were synchronous with the changes that were taking place in the whole of Europe during the years 1921-33. It will not be possible within the time at my disposal to relate my personal experiences but I may mention that I took every opportunity to visit all the large industrial factories and organisations, and met important personages including Mussolini and some of the other notables, both in the administrative field as well as in the League of Nations in Geneva. My visit to Russia proved most interesting. There I studied the result of the Five-Year Plan after carefully reading Knickerboker's famous book on the subject. There I saw for myself what was being done, to bring about the Soviet system of society. Europe was at that time breaking away from democracy. There was a Dictator in Turkey, in Yugoslavia and Italy, and gradually Hitler was emerging from the dynamic movement of national socialism as its great leader and exponent. In England the economic condition gradually deteriorated and unemployment was at its highest in 1931 and reached the figure of 2½ million. Passing through the Scandinavian countries, I found the harbour of Copenhagen absolutely deserted. Many ships were lying idle at the quay. All the biggest ship-owners were in a bankrupt condition; Denmark's trade with England in regard to her

dairy produce was seriously affected. In Sweden, most of the larger industries for which the country was famous were struggling against depression, over-production and want of foreign markets. Sweden went through the crisis which was to some extent due to the speculations of Kreuger, one of the biggest industrialists of the day, who committed suicide to evade consequences. There was a general upheaval in Sweden and many of the industrial magnates were ruined and some of them were put in prison by Government. Swedish exportation of timber was greatly curtailed on account of Russian competition, and depression was noticeable in all the industries of Sweden, Norway and Finland. Much could be said of Russia but there I found the Five-Year Plan was carried out with great energy and Russia was pursuing the policy of long-term loans with European countries and supplying various classes of commodities including machinery. Scientific research was carried out on an extensive scale, and the training of the Russians for the most part was in the hands of German and American technicians. I visited the Factory Kitchens, schools and hospitals, and studied the control of food through the Russian system of rationing and factory kitchens. I visited the Russian tenements and had some idea how accommodation was provided and some of the bigger centres of Russian economic developments such as Dnieprpetrovsk, and my

conversations with some of the Communist Leaders of the Russian Economic Developments and organisations showed that although relations with England were restrained at the beginning, reciprocity was being established gradually but the general feeling was that the Russian products were considered defective and this was a great handicap to the Russian industries at the time. But the Russians were doing everything in their power to improve the condition of living amongst the workers—food, housing, and hygiene. They claimed that these were better after the revolution and superior to that of many European countries. Russia was obtaining long-term credits upto four years, but authorisation from the Soviet Union was necessary for both exportation and importation of goods. Commerce and Finance were under complete control of the whole financial affairs of the country. In Russia there were 153 nationalities, more than 80 literary and 7 official languages. I visited the G.P.U. community, the important object of which was to control the contra-revolution movement of the country. It was semi-military in character. My general impression of Russia was that it had undertaken a great human experiment which was described by Hindus as "Humanity Uprooted". The younger generation were optimistic as to the ultimate success of this experiment and were ready to sacrifice everything hoping the best for the future.

Reconstruction of Belgium and France demanded a supreme effort. England reaped enormous advantages, by accretion to her Navy and the colonial possessions of Germany and started a huge programme to increase the wealth of the British Empire. Germany aggrieved and bitter, impoverished at the start faced great depression. Working classes however were made to work at a ruthless speed to produce sufficient to pay for the reparations. So many commissions were set up during the various periods between 1920 and 1930 to deal with the international economic problems but not one satisfactorily solved them. With the impetus to industries, factories increased in large numbers in every country with the result that there was increased productions and the machine age also became a powerful economic weapon to make or mar economic prosperity.

Germany finding her opportunities thus enlarged owing to the weakness of her rivals, secretly piled up enormous resources and a huge army in addition to war industries on a vast scale. It entered into an agreement with the neighbouring countries, exploited all their natural wealth and by a system of Barter by which they did not need actual money brought about an economic revolution in the country. They established a system of conserving their monetary resources which other European countries followed by prevent-

ing the export of money outside the country and attracting through various measures foreign capital.

Amongst all these changes, America stood alone for a time but not for very long. In 1926 when I first visited America, American prosperity was at its highest, but gradually there was depression and one could see people selling apples in the streets of New York later on. Then came Roosevelt's administration under the New Deal and the National Recovery schemes of various kinds in which enormous sums of money were spent for public works of various descriptions, specially Highways throughout the length and breadth of the U.S.A.

The fear of living which since 1919 possessed the people of Europe for twenty years, stirred up unrest, revolution, acts of violence and finally war in 1939. There has been 20 years of economic world warfare in Europe under the Treaties. The whole map of Europe was changed. Cities and Ports were divided up. Instead of uniting several small territories, the Peace Treaties carved up large economic Units into Petty States. Thousands of kilometres of customs boundaries were set up. All this led to the rise of national socialism in Germany and finally the destruction of all democratic forces in Central Europe. A bitter economic war lasted for many years between Poland and Germany. Amongst the newly created States, Poland was the

largest with a population of 33 million and Czechoslovakia second largest with a population of 13½ million. Hungary was dismembered. Every country claimed some part from its adjacent neighbours. Relations between Prague and Budapest was one of continuous tension till 1939. The little entente as it was then called consisting of Serbia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania had constant conferences to resist the demand of territories. More than one army was mobilised. Besides the troubles caused by minority states, there was a constant fear of war between Italy and Yugoslavia. Bulgaria became one of the hotbeds of unrest in the Balkans. Trenches, barbed wire and machine guns prevented even the small frontier intercourse between countries. No less than 16 nations lived in the triangle formed by Vienna, the coast of the Black Sea and the Southern tip of Greece, each side being only 600 miles long. The principal mistakes of the Peace Treaty which plunged the whole world in overwhelming economic crisis were:

- (1) A system of coercion was made the main principle of economic solution.
- (2) Economic units were destroyed, irrespective of ties and interdependence.
- (3) National economic tyranny was fostered against international co-operation. Under a new credit policy the allies granted huge

loans for re-armament purposes and nothing was done for production and peaceful investments.

* In lieu of free exchange of goods there were foreign currency restrictions, embargoes on assignments and import quotas. In addition to this, the passport system was vigorously enforced.

My personal experiences of the economic crisis between 1929 and 1937 raised clear apprehensions as to the future. I found the bitterness of spirit at the frontiers. Great resentment, long wait for hours, search for money and distasteful personal examination. The restriction of foreign currency to be imported or exported when leaving, remittances of money from home countries for travelling expenses in Germany, Hungary, Austria, Italy and Russia were restricted. We had to take sterling or dollars with us and show our Letters of Credit or cash to the passport authorities as well as the Customs to be noted in the pass-books for check at the time of exit. All the new States of Central Europe were anxious to get as much foreign money as they could in dollar or sterling and prevented their national currency to go out except within very small limits as 10 marks from Germany. Thus a large reserve of foreign money was accumulated and a substantial banking reserve was created for the payment of manufactured goods. In spite of all these economic measures for the protection of

national economic interests everything was cramped and strangled. As an example, the Austrian Textile Industry had its spinning wheels in lower Austria while the weaving mills were situated in German Bohemia. There was no connection between the two. The Goblonz Glass and Bangle Industry of Bohemia was totally destroyed. The Textile Industries of both countries underwent a severe crisis in search of new markets. The great ports in the Adriatic, Trieste and Fiume, which were fully equipped, were destined to ruin. Many Central European Banks failed in 1931 and when I visited some of them during my travels and discussed the economic situation under the system of national banking and water-tight compartments, the general feeling expressed was that it was most difficult to finance industries owing to the drawbacks of the then economic situation due to export difficulties, goods tariff obstruction and communications. There were no less than 3,000 or 4,000 miles of new customs boundaries which strangled trade. There was a steady fall in wages and standard of living. Many states were hostile to foreigners for fear of competition and even countries lacking insufficient labour were forbidden the emigration of foreign workers. Countries like Poland, the Soviet Union and Germany controlled foreign travel for Government purposes only. There was thus no freedom of movement and this resulted in the unemployment

of hundreds and thousands and even millions in all the industrial countries.

My experience of the dole system in England is not a very happy one. The total number of persons unemployed came to nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ million during the economic crisis of 1929-31. The struggle for higher wages, threat of strikes, all led to the economic distress amongst the people. Those who received doles had no incentive to get work.

Officers and men returning home met their first disappointment when promises made for being re-employed in their original vocation were not fulfilled. Altogether within one year of the Armistice there were 6 million registered unemployed in Europe. Under this severe economic condition the birth-rate declined and in Central Europe the number of children went down to almost pre-war level. With the fear of national socialism in Germany, all capital flew and when the present war broke out, Continental Europe sent most of their capital and gold reserves to the United States. We all know that there was over-production in the United States under cotton, and Brazil threw coffee into the sea and rivers. Warehouses were all filled up and for years grain, flour, maize, sugar, cotton and coffee were sold at minimum prices. When Hitler came into power he promised a reversal of this state of affairs in a fight to the last to gain living space "Lebensraum". The League

of Nations which was established to prevent further wars was a figure without flesh and blood having no power to enforce decisions, published only paper resolutions and statistics. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, as well as Germany and Italy, withdrew from the League, and the two Axis powers in Europe tried to convince workers that they had found a remedy for all the evils described above.

The war industries of the United States and the United Kingdom make one shudder to think what the economic condition of Europe will be after the present war ends. The policy due to the Lease and Lend Bill of the States and the supplies that the U.S.A. makes to the democracies under this will create an economic crisis of the first magnitude. Already purchasing commissions have been set up while the war is in progress with a view to buy up raw materials, stocks for the post-war period.

If however the liberty of the individual is assured and there is proper economic planning in Europe, the conflict between the interests of the State and Community and those of the individual will be solved under a sound system of that kind of planning which will mean the utilisation of labour released, and industrial production will have to be organised, which is now entirely under the grip of war industries. There ought to be freedom of movement and less restriction for exports and imports. Measures have to be taken to avoid

inflation and a stricter supervision exercised over countries of all kinds. First and foremost the democratic states must give sufficient work to employ immediately all surplus manpower. They should guarantee complete freedom of movement of all workers and supply raw materials under State control. They should have an international agreement for working hours and lastly, opening up of all colonies must be on an international basis.

Whatever has been said above touches only the fringe of this vast subject. I have avoided all reference to politics or problems arising from the conflict between Europe and Asia which will surely take an acute form as time goes on. I have also avoided all reference to the Indian problem which has a formidable bearing on the post-war economic problems of the world as a whole. Time prevents me from dealing with this and other cognate subjects.

My travels during the years of crisis 1929-31, through all the European countries gave me a clear idea of the impending storm and when I returned to England after these travels I realised how little Great Britain was prepared to face it in an adequate manner. The problems of economic reconstruction in England itself are formidable indeed. Problems of economic reconstruction in the world appear to me to be beyond the comprehension of one nation unless the best brains of all the nations

at war whether they be victorious or vanquished combine together without any spirit of bitterness or revenge to formulate a scheme by co-operation and good-will so that history may not repeat itself after the Peace Treaties are signed and fears are let lose to prepare for another war within the period of less than two decades. The prospect is gloomy indeed, whatever may be the ultimate result of this grim war through which we are passing, at least from the economic point of view. The war is one of total destruction, impoverishment leading to starvation, misery and complete overthrow of the system of society to which the different countries of Europe have been individually accustomed. How far the communistic and the national socialistic as well as the Fascist systems can be reconciled or modified to form a constructive platform for practical purposes to solve post-war problems is indeed a question which I venture to say no one however familiar with the trend of events in the field of economics can satisfactorily answer.

The question finally arises, supposing Armistice is declared tomorrow, what will be the economic condition of Europe? Will there be a European revolution against Nazism and Fascism or a Revolution against Capitalism which will undoubtedly be very much stronger in the United States and probably in England than it is today? No country will be able to feed itself. Even Great Britain has

been recently warned that wherever they land they will have to bring with them everything from food to buttons. When the war is over there will be mass unemployment of all European countries. All the impoverished nations will need help not only of capital but materials. They will have manpower in abundance freshly demobilised nearing starvation. They will have to be provided with tools, transport, fertilizers and machines through an international exchange on an international scale. How are they to be organised? is the question of post-war reconstruction. Many are of the opinion that British and American capitalism may be an instrument to throttle Socialistic initiative. It has also been said that to exterminate German imperialism and German aggressiveness it is not enough to remove Hitler, it is necessary to eradicate those economic and political forces which have made Hitler. Will U.S.A. and Great Britain rise to the occasion, and lead the economic reconstruction of the world by the surrender of vested interests of capitalism?

In conclusion, I cannot do better than quote the words recently addressed by a Polish Socialist to a British Socialistic audience.... "You must bear in mind that the victory of socialism and democracy on the Continent will depend to the greatest extent on the attitude of British Labour. The liberated countries will be in a state of destruction and ruin. They will need economic help, your

country can give it. You will have to decide whether the Continent shall fall a prey to vested interests of your own and American capitalists or whether it will get help within the framework of a European economic union. It will depend on your attitude whether such a union will be created. It will depend on whether you will allow your country to remain in its pre-war splendid isolation or join the Commonwealth of Continental nations.

A reactionary government in your country will be hailed by all the reactionary forces on the Continent. A lasting victory of democracy in your country will decide the lasting victory of democracy in Europe."

**Letter to the "Times of India" on
"Compromise and Unity"
September 1942**

I read with great interest your leading article, "Compromise and Unity" commenting on Sir Feroz Khan Noon's plan, outlined at Alighrah, for the division of India into five great Dominions, linked to a central authority controlling defence, customs, foreign relations and currency.

You very rightly pointed out that according to Indian History the country's loyalties have been more territorial than religious, surely a powerful argument against the division of India into Muslim and Hindu sovereign States according to the Pakistan scheme. May I add that Indian loyalties on a territorial basis are growing stronger. Provincial nationalism has sharpened and intensified linguistic and racial differences. There is a cry everywhere for Punjab for Punjabis; Bengal for Bengalis; Madras for Madrasis, and so forth, not to speak of similar cries prevailing in Indian States, such as Mysore for Mysoreans, Hyderabad for Hyderabadis. Sir Feroz Khan Noon's proposal is not altogether original as I will presently show. But his ideas, taken together with those of His Highness the Maharaja of Indore, recently given out to the Press, do indicate that the country is at last getting Union minded and leaving the track of an All-India Federation.

based on the Act of 1935, which no longer holds the field as a solution of the present tangle.

Thirteen years ago I gave publicity to a scheme for the Union of India in my journal *Indian Affairs* which I conducted in London, in an article with the title "Not One Dominion But Many". In that article it was stated amongst other things, that the religious cleavage in India was intensified by the constitution of India into a single State. It was suggested that the solution of the political problem in India was the substitution of the Empire of India by a League of Dominions, Kingdoms and Tribal Lands. Out of what is known as British India, thirteen racially and linguistically homogeneous dominions could be constituted and twelve of the principal Indian States could be raised to the rank of Kingdoms and thus given the same status as a Dominion. Further details were given as to how the division was to be made. For example, outside the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, no less than eight racially and linguistically homogeneous dominions could be constituted. The predominantly Muslim districts of the United Provinces could be constituted into a Muslim State, with Lucknow as its capital, and Urdu as the official language, and the rest of the United Provinces could be constituted into a Hindu State with Hindi as the official language. The North-West Frontier could be united with the

predominantly Muslim districts of the Punjab and constituted as a Muslim Dominion.

Many years have elapsed since then and we are no nearer the solution of the Indian tangle. It is significant however that the two recent pronouncements which converge on the idea of a Union of India do suggest a *bonafide* attempt to solve the Indian problem. While the Maharaja's views mark a definite advance in what hitherto was considered as the conservative stronghold of autocratic rule in India, the suggestion of the British Indian Muslim administrator aims at a compromise between the Pakistan and the Congress points of view.

May I venture to suggest again as I did in May 1941, when the situation was not so serious, that the British Government should forthwith make a new gesture, summon a Constitutional Assembly or a Round Table Conference, including the Indian States, for the establishment of a Union comprising not one Dominion but many, to facilitate the settlement of all political differences between Congress and the Muslim League, between Province and Province, between minority parties and between British India and the Indian States. The map of India which is of British make and origin has to be re-made right now without waiting for the end of war. Then only will additional strength be secured for the United Nations to fight the enemies of liberty and justice now seeking dominance in both hemispheres.

Article as Published in the "Hindustan Review"
on "Sir Stafford Cripps and After—
A Retrospect and Prospect"
September 1942

It is not necessary to relate the circumstances which brought Sir Stafford to this country. The facts are too well known to bear repetition. The condition of the political atmosphere in India has not changed very much since the British offer of August 1940, nor has the attitude of the various political parties—the Congress, the All-India Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation and the Non-Party Group, led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—shown any material change. It is therefore right to say that owing to the trend of events in the war and the entry of Japan into the struggle, a necessity has been felt to secure the full and unreserved collaboration of India in the general war effort of the United Nations. Is it, therefore, a fear that India would be in serious danger and of no help without such collaboration, or is it due to a real, genuine and *bonafide* desire to lead India to the path of complete self-government that the last British offer was made? The answer of this question may be that the present British move in regard to India is due to the fear indicated in the first question. That makes the situation more difficult. But let us leave that alone for the moment and examine the

Government proposals for India's future constitution with reference to what has already been done and said during the past decade or more.

In the draft declaration, brought by Sir Stafford for discussion, a reference is made to the fulfilment of promises in regard to the future of India. The preamble of the declaration, therefore, at once brings us back to the last War and what was done in 1917, including the pledges that were then given in regard to Dominion Status. A quarter of a century is quite an appreciable time as an interval between two stages of political evolution in this country, between which the historian will really not discern any material difference.

One important difference, however, is, that after the war the new constitution will be framed by a constituent assembly to be elected and charged with that task. It would appear, therefore, to any impartial and unprejudiced observer that the procedure of the Round Table Conference is being revived and unending discussions will be a repeating feature covering a period of another decade before the final constitution is agreed upon. Even so, there is no hope that it will be agreed upon by every section of the Indian people, or by the three political parties in the British Parliament just as was the case in 1935.

What is, therefore, the main difficulty in the offer made by the War Cabinet which does not induce the Indian people to join together, forgetting their

differences, but which makes them give whole-hearted co-operation in the struggle that has now taken such a dangerous form in regard to the future safety and integrity of the Indian sub-continent ?

The first criticism that one would like to make is that far too much importance has been given in the usual British way to the re-affirmation of the previous pledges about Dominion Status in the future constitution of India. These are controversial matters in which there is nothing new to discuss, for every point has been discussed threadbare during the past critical years of controversy. In fact the people in England got tired of the whole subject and became apathetic and, even when the Congress Governments came into existence, there was a very deep under-current of not only opposition, but resentment, at the spirit with which the Act of 1935 was worked. Sir Stafford, after coming with great hopes of a settlement, retraced his steps back to England just as Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India did, with the difference that he left India very much worse off than before,—almost on the brink of a political revolution which increased the dangers and difficulties of the present war situation. Time is an important factor and it was natural to expect that right now on the spot Sir Stafford's proposals should have taken a practical form and determined the future control of events leading to the prosecution of the war.

The second criticism is that the Indian States were given a back seat or rather a position in the whole picture which was not in consonance with their importance, firstly in regard to the prosecution of the war and secondly, in the future constitution of India. All the phrases used in the Draft declaration were not original ; in fact they had an old flavour, and reading between the lines the historian might say that it was another attempt to gain time, in fact the third time since the visit of Montagu to this country. The right to secede has, after-all, an academic importance. The question of vital moments : how India is going to defend herself, and in this matter it is stated that before a new constitution can be framed, meaning thereby for an indefinite period, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world-war effort. Paragraph 3 of the declaration in this behalf, is contradictory in itself, for the responsibility of the Government of India is of two different kinds and there is no provision made according to which they can be harmonised and a practical effect given in the discharge of these responsibilities in the direction of affairs at the present crisis, the seriousness of which neither Great Britain, after all the reverses she has suffered, nor the Indian people, seem fully to realise.

The third criticism is that the declaration, which

may follow as a basis of the draft, now published, would be conditional upon a general favourable acceptance by the various sections of the Indian people. Besides, the document had to be taken as a whole. Thus, we see that this condition is a mere repetition of the condition made in the August offer, thereby throwing the responsibility upon the Indian people.

The fourth criticism is with regard to consent. The Provinces and the States have been given the freedom to stand aside and this they will no doubt do under one objection or another, with the result that the total number of political entities that may hereafter join the Union together may not be sufficient in the quantity and quality to become the real foundation of the future Union. I wonder what the future historian will say about the political meetings that took place between Sir Stafford and the Indian political parties and their leaders, not to speak of individuals summoned from all corners of India in order to ascertain their own personal views on the subject. In fact, Sir Stafford held a miniature Round Table Conference in India, when the enemy was at the door, and owing to the vague and nebulous offer of the British, now made, it failed to evoke that enthusiasm which was essential to bring all sections of the Indian people together. Positive, quick and active results of such a conference were from the very first not in sight. Sir Stafford returned

to England and reported to the War Cabinet and the Parliament the result of his discussions and negatived the prospects of his Government doing something definite which would bring India forward to a more safe position in regard to the defence of the country as a whole. In fact it is lamentable that Sir Stafford Cripps was not given the authority to introduce straight away some measure in the administration of the country on the spot, by which all suspicions, fears and doubts on the part of the Indian leaders could be removed once and for all, and one united battle front created forthwith for India's defence.

At the present moment the defence problems are the most important in which is included the production of war materials and weapons of offence and defence; for even if an army of five millions is organised by a national drive in the country, it is of no practical use, unless provided with necessary equipments. The proposals did not touch upon this point, and much of the consequential action had to be assumed as likely to follow without looking just a little ahead.

My conclusions are as follows:—India should have accepted all that the Cripps Memorandum offered, without prejudice as to the attitude that may be taken by leading political parties at the end of the War and thus challenge the *bonafides* of the War Cabinet. They can put forward their

respective contentions when the Constituent Assembly is convened.

Secondly, the Congress Government should be restored in all the provinces in which the Congress Ministers were elected and, as suggested in Chapter IV of the pamphlet I published in London entitled *Looking Ahead in War Time*, the Central Cabinet should be forthwith reconstituted. This is what I said: "The British Government have made a gesture promising Dominion Status. They may, however, go a bit further, for the Indian public now has little faith in British pledges, and make suitable changes in the present Government of India and pass an emergency measure in Parliament changing the bureaucratic form of government at the centre by the introduction of responsible government for a strong National Executive, fit to undertake the responsibilities of National Defence. Such an additional gesture may ease the situation as regards the communal problem. My suggestion is that full co-operation in the war with the Allies will be forthcoming if the Constitution question is, as it must be, left alone, and the British Government decree that States and minorities be grouped together on the population basis, fixing a minimum of, say, 50 million, each having their right to elect their leader who will then automatically find a place in the Central Cabinet."

Thirdly, gigantic efforts must be made to utilise

all the resources of India and organise all the larger industries on war footing for the purpose of giving military supplies of offence and defence throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Fourthly, a drive for the recruitment to the new National Indian Army should be carried out in right earnest, securing the co-operation of all parties, and training centres should be established in as many places as possible for getting them ready without further loss of time.

Fifthly, co-ordination between British India and the States may be effected by a Co-ordination Board for the purposes of war effort, as indicated above, and, lastly an officer for propaganda should be appointed forthwith within each province to do war propaganda in the truest sense of the term, taking a lesson in this respect from Germany and Japan, for the masses have to be roused to the sense of danger and need of co-operation on their part in every conceivable manner.

Letter to the "Times of India" on
"Extra-Territorial Rights"
October 1942

Your recent article on the subject of the abrogation of extra-territorial rights in China by the British and American Governments very rightly focuses public attention in India to the *bonafides* of these two Governments, in regard to their very friendly attitude towards China. You emphasised the necessity of Western democracies to establish relations of absolute equality with China, and you said, "whatever the origin of a system which until recently exempted the nationals of twenty countries from appearing for trial before Chinese courts, the system itself has been one of the biggest obstacles, blocking the way to the establishment of cordial relations between China and the West".

In this connection I feel that there is a very important and forcible justification for abandoning extra-territorial rights in Indian India, by which I mean the Indian States in treaty with the Paramount Power. Sufficient public attention to this matter has not been drawn in recent years during the period of discussion to establish an All-India Federation or bring about a revision of the treaties. If it is a fact that certain extra-territorial rights still exist in Indian India, is there any justification for

them at the present time. It cannot be questioned that the Princes as Rulers of these States are in a position or status, so far as the internal administration of their territories is concerned, inferior to China. It will be idle to urge that their laws are unsuitable for the trial of criminal cases or adjudication of civil disputes in which the British or foreign nationals and the subjects of the States are parties. While it is unnecessary to go into the origin of extra-territorial rights in Indian India which have been handed down for many years past under conditions which no longer exist, it is not inappropriate to draw the attention of the Paramount Power to the necessity of abandoning extra-territorial rights, now in existence, specially at the present juncture when the Princes have given further evidence of their loyalty and zeal, as well as spirit of sacrifice for the cause of the United Nations in the war against Germany and Japan.

I am firmly of the conviction that the time has now come for the British Government to make a gesture to the Princes declaring their intention to abandon extra-territorial rights in their States, thus bringing their policy in India in a line with that they have adopted in regard to China. This is perhaps a matter which the Chamber of Princes has already under their consideration, but as one conversant with the manner in which such extra-territorial rights have been exercised in the past in at least three important

Indian States, and yet as one who has at present no manner of personal interest or connection except the welfare and consolidation of India as a whole and the prestige of the Rulers of Indian India in particular, I seek the hospitality of your paper to draw public attention to this important matter.

**Article as Published in the "Indian Review" on
"The World War and the Feminine"
November 1942**

It is now three years since the war which has now spread in both the hemispheres, began. Millions of men, mobilized, enlisted, trained, and finally sent out to the different theatres of war, have left behind millions of women belonging to them either as Mothers, Wives, Daughters, Sisters, and Sweet-hearts. They do not appear in the headlines of the newspapers giving news about the war. In most European countries, including England, at least half the number of able-bodied young women are working in the munition factories and in various war industries. Their enlistment in such work has been gradual and great transformation has taken place in their daily habits and in their general outlook. The changes that are taking place in these matters nobody has time to consider in the dust and in the din of battle.

Taking the young women first, they are doing magnificent work in the countries of the Allied nations as well as in the Axis countries. They do not get any public recognition, nor any thanks for the hardships they are undergoing, but they do not mind. The way they have reacted to this unnatural situation is worthy of examination. They must have relaxation and also a certain amount of compensation in other ways which they take

when they can get it. In all these developments, does any one devote a moment's thought to the changes that are taking place in feminine psychology? These I wish to emphasize for the benefit of your readers.

In the first place, women have learnt to be more self-reliant, they do not require the help of a man in travelling, in their work or in their amusements. They are becoming a class by themselves. It is a common thing to find two or more women in groups, in uniform, sitting in a restaurant and amusing themselves. They are not sensitive to men's advances in such public places. They have a superior air and a look as if they are doing their bit just as much as the men, and if opportunities were given they would even go to the front. The feminine nature is thus gradually being destroyed. Can any one imagine what will happen when they return to their homes? The Spartan women who excelled in every form of athletics acquired a physique which showed women to perfection in the feminine form. The modern woman in war time is reaching that stage and in all probability will require no attention or admiration from the men. Pursuing the argument further we may also imagine a period when these women will become sadistic in tendencies, having come in daily contact with the roughness, and the cruelty of war; and their gentle instincts, and chiefly their maternal instinct, will slowly disappear.

From my personal experience, I have come across this tendency amongst the young English women who have been drafted to the big industrial centres of England. Without going into details, it may be said that the ordinary conversation one hears in the black-out amongst these women has no characteristics of the feminine sex. In fact, it has been known that they take the role of men when they accost a young British soldier, or officer, or for that matter any man. Here is what I once heard in the black-out.

Soldier.—"What Ho! who goes there?"

Girl.—"A Friend."

Soldier.—"A friend indeed, come and walk with me."

Girl.—"Where do you live? I live in a nice flat."

Soldier.—"I only live in a hut."

Girl.—"Then come and I will make you comfortable in this cold night." So they proceed.

Mind you, there is no harm thought of in this little episode, but what develops later is nobody's business. Probably nothing, and they part as good friends next morning. I know personally, at least, one case, in which a young woman, an Oxford Graduate of 30, thus took care of a young British soldier. Here the question of sex did not arise at all, the pre-occupations of the war, the grim outlook of life forced upon the people, the danger

of air-raids any moment, causing destruction and havoc all round have mutilated the inner springs of the human body, as between man and woman. Both are machines being worked to death with a certain purpose.

Here is what an English friend of mine who is in the Department of Education, though married, writes on the changed situation in England. "Nursery schools are springing everywhere, communal feeling is becoming the thing of necessity, people of all sorts and conditions get together for lunches. That should continue even after the war, it breaks down class barriers and saves ordinary women countless hours of drudgery. Public schools have evacuated to the country, and with their change of address have sloughed off much of their old class conscious habits and traditions." The same friend gives an account of a young pupil of hers, who was a teacher, giving up her job and joining the A. I. D. while rude folk tell that it means 'always in drink', but officially it means Aircraft Inspection Department. This is what another young woman has written to me about her work. "This business of sending every one as far as away from home as possible asks for trouble, and is quite senseless. I am working all day and it just seems senseless kind of work. I hate saluting and standing up for Officers." About a woman officer, she writes.... "she always seems to be pulling me up for nothing

at all and giving such looks down her nose at me, why I do not know."

If you follow up this line of thought in various other spheres of women's activities, you will discover that the middle-aged woman is helping in a more drastic manner than you imagine to kill sex in the young woman by their own example. Is this a blessing in disguise or an evil, the consequences of which may be felt by the future unborn generations.

In this country we receive accounts of women's activities in various spheres of social and economic life, both in England and America, from the newspapers. Amongst the older women, hardly any change of psychology is perceptible. They are doing what they did in the last war, knitting for the most part, and preparing articles for the comfort of soldiers. Middle-aged women, through influence or otherwise, mostly push, have secured for themselves lucrative positions in the various organisations relating to war, industries, and war effort, principally for the purpose of controlling younger recruits placed in their care. I cannot say that they are a credit to their sex with many exceptions, no doubt. The majority of them are more bossy, domineering and intolerant than men could be, placed in similar situations. They have got their pre-occupations, some as old maids, others as discontented wives, and spend their time mostly outside their homes. I am not very much concerned with the future of

the old women or those middle-aged persons of the same sex in the New World Order. Except those who are keenly studying the changes that are taking place in our society in general, and recording their impressions through story books, novels and other descriptive works, the majority of them will pass out of notice without exercising any influence whatsoever. It is the young women that count. They will emerge from this war with a totally different psychology and also a totally different physical outlook. They will be hardened, less sensitive, and will assert themselves to gain for them and their sisters, a place in the social, political and economic life of the country. So much so, that their influence will be transferred from the home to the outside world, and as regards rearing up families, looking after children, their education and up-bringing, they will play a lesser and lesser part. Such a result will naturally force the government of the country, that is to be, to assume responsibility such as we see in Soviet Russia. These young women will, for the most part, be socialistic in tendencies and veer around to the mentality of the women of Soviet Russia where, in every respect, they are equal in status and importance to the men, and have no domestic drudgery to face. It would be difficult to foresee how the Soviet example will practically be followed in America or in England, but one thing is certain, and that is the general breaking up of the

home life and the family life as it is seen today in the capitalistic countries. The independence of women caused by their increased capacity to earn for themselves will put them in a position of power and influence in every sphere and, however desirable an improvement this may be, it is too early yet to foresee the repercussions that would take place in all the spheres of human life, in which a woman has been a co-partner with man hitherto.

Turning now to Eastern countries, it is significant that although Women's Movement has spread rapidly in Japan, China and India, one hears very little as to what the women are doing towards this war, from these countries. It is possible that in Japan women are doing, as in European countries, munition and other war work. The new movement in Japan, which has brought about an ambition on the part of the Japanese nation to secure the supremacy of Asia, has imbued the women also, as I noticed during my visit to Japan in 1926. Their spirit of earnestness, efficiency, and great patriotism seem to characterise all their efforts in study and home life, and even in regard to rearing of their children. It is a great force in the national life of Japan that has to be reckoned with by her opponents. In China likewise, but not to the same extent, the Chinese women, who have had the benefit of education as the Chinese Commander-in-Chief's wife, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, are taking a leading part

in the regeneration of the country and have been brought to come to a sense of their overpowering responsibility by Japanese aggression. But they are a minority and their psychology is for the most part influenced by education that has been spread amongst them through American agencies, either American Missionaries in the country or American Universities to which the Chinese women have been sent for higher education.

What about India? Reading the newspapers one does not see what the Indian women are doing in this war. All that appears in the Press relates to the activities of the men leaders of the different parties, and the holders of responsible positions under Government. The country is going through a crisis and the war effort which now is going to be whipped up by the National War Front Movement inaugurated in every province and most of the Indian States, does not seem to have brought the women to the forefront, although many of them are working silently behind the scenes. For example, not a single woman has made any pronouncement regarding the recent Congress resolution, which is likely to cause a major political crisis. Looking at them in big cities, one wonders whether the women who enjoy the luxuries of modern life through the wealth and opulence of their husbands, ever realise the possibilities of drastic changes in the country, sooner or later. They are the ones that

are spending money in a capitalistic system of society. Whatever organisations there may be amongst the women of India to promote war effort in various directions, except of course as munition and factory workers, for which they are not as yet fitted to take an equal part with men, one has yet to find out the extent and scope as to what the women are doing. No leader has come forward amongst the women to set up a movement to counteract those evil influences which are now at large, spreading over the country against war effort. Most of this kind of work is done by men. If co-operation between men and women is needed, anywhere, or at any time, it is *now* in India, where women have advanced beyond any one's imagination, in social progress, education and enlightenment. It has yet to be seen how far such advancement has brought about with it the sense of responsibility in national welfare. It is the women and their children that will suffer when aggression comes to the land in real earnest. In A. R. P. organisations or Volunteer Bodies set up to relieve distress through unofficial agencies, it is absolutely necessary to enlist the co-operation of women in every endeavour that the nation will require to meet acute suffering, distress, and general dislocation of national life. In other words, a movement should be set on foot to train Indian women of education in a healthy form of socialism, by which

not only the sufferings of the poor, but the need of sacrifice on the part of the rich have to be attended to, before anything tangible can be done to prevent the spread of chaos and dislocation in national life, panic and in fact, disaster in every field throughout the country. I appeal to the women of India to come forward and offer their services by setting up an organisation of voluntary effort. There are many European women who have not been able to go back to their own countries that are holding responsible positions, and not a few Parsee women are doing the same; but Hindus and Moslems and also other communities should contribute their quota of national workers amongst women after providing for a course of training if necessary to enable them to take an effective part in relieving the sufferings of all classes of people that are bound to come in the wake of this grim and ruthless war.

To conclude this article a reference can, with advantage, be made to two movements led from opposite sides, one the war on women and the other war on men which have manifested in civilised countries of the West. I have just read an account of an ambitious programme for post-war fight against the feminine invasion which is being planned by the National Men's Defence League. This League says, that feminism is a menace to men's jobs, family life and to the very existence of Britain as a first-rate power. This sounds serious enough.

The League quotes statistics, however, to show that when there were two million unemployed men in England, there were six million women in industrial trades and professions. It is difficult to visualise with what intensity the sex war will be launched after the present war is over. There is another side to the question. From the women's point of view there is a Defence Movement in certain allied countries and we have one instance of that from Australia where girls want to fight the "brownout Romeos," by carrying hat pins, bag needles, spikes, files, pen-knives, cayennes-pepper, scissors, or weighted torches in their handbags. Many young girls are apparently victims of undesirable attentions from men when they return after late hours working in munition and other war factories. The tendencies thus manifested are surely not conducive to bringing about harmony which is essential as between men and women for the growth of a healthy national life.

The problems set forth above are of sufficient importance to invite the attention of social workers with adequate knowledge of feminine psychology.

Comments on Mr. Churchill's Broadcast March 1943

Recently the broadcast made by Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister of England, brought forth a scheme for the reconstruction of Europe, and if I mistake not for the reconstruction of the whole world. This is what he said.... "It will be our hope that the United Nations headed by the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States and Soviet Russia should immediately begin to confer upon the future world organisation which is to be our safeguard against further wars." He envisaged a Council of Europe and a Council of Asia, against all past experiences of the League of Nations established at Geneva after the last war. He resolved to make the Council of Europe into a really effective League with all the strongest forces woven into its texture with a High Court to adjust disagreements and other forces, national or international, to enforce decisions. This Council is to embrace the whole world—a wild dream, dreamt by many philosophers and statesmen but which has never yet come true. Churchill is however no dreamer when he anticipates disagreements. For he says that the permanent interests of Britain, the United States and Russia have to be harmonised. What these permanent interests are now, and what they will be in the future no one knows. The whole broadcast is a mixture of all kinds of

Utopian ideas and practical problems such as unemployment and improvement of agriculture, need for large farms, stable currencies, increase of British exports and so forth. The "*Hindu*," in a leader published on the 24th March, has a well written criticism of the Churchill broadcast which may be considered to represent the all-India view on the subject. The first criticism according to the "*Hindu*" is that Churchill wants to segregate the world problems into two compartments, labelled Europe and Asia—the European organisations headed by the British Commonwealth of Nations will come first. If the Council is to be dominated by Great Britain, Europe and Russia for the protection of their permanent interests, what about the smaller nations or the Axis Countries? Are they to be admitted into this Council or is it going to be made optional for their entry?

The Council of Asia is a fantastic idea inasmuch as it has no independent status, but as the "*Hindu*" points out, would be a mere satellite for the Council of Europe. The most noteworthy feature of the broadcast of the British Prime Minister is that the territories conquered by Japan have to be freed from the grip of the enemy, but he says nothing about the help to China and I may add that he says nothing about giving freedom to India. In all these expositions of policy for the future reconstruction of the world, India is hardly ever

mentioned, and it is significant that everything is centred on Great Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the rock-bottom of the scheme is that the economic conditions of Europe will have to be subservient to the economic planning spread over four years for the reconstruction of Great Britain. We know to our cost that everything is being done to build a scheme for a substantial increase of British export and for catching the trade of the world. How the three parties, the United States, Great Britain and Russia, will agree to a Council following such a policy is indeed a doubtful question. It is obvious that there will be an economic crisis of the first magnitude when the present war is over, specially owing to the Lease and Lend Bill of the United States of America where already Purchasing Commissions have been set up with a view to buy up raw material stocks, etc., for the post-war period.

Mr. Churchill mentions about unemployment and says that it would not be right to have any idle people, but doesn't say how the Council of Europe is going to solve this question. The whole plan of this Council of Europe is based on inconsistent and contradictory propositions, for as the "*Hindu*" points out, how can Britain contrive to increase her pre-war exports and at the same time her imports of food, and give employment to all the surplus man-power released when the war is over.

The truth of the matter is that the conservative elements in the British nation have no imagination to tackle these gigantic problems specially at the present moment. To quote a British Socialist, "Victory of socialism and democracy on the Continent will depend to a large extent on the attitude of British labour. The liberated countries will be in a state of destruction and ruin, and it is the British labour that will have to decide whether the continent will fall a prey to vested interests of the British and American capitalists, or whether it will get help within the framework of a European Economic Union."

In conclusion, one may say that the Churchill broadcast while showing the need of British Imperialists, tries at the same time to discuss it by Utopian doctrines of a Pan-Europa to be led by the strings of the United States, Great Britain and Russia. Will Russia follow in this march as the third party—only to be bullied and exploited after final victory is won against the Axis Powers?

**Speech at the Bangalore Century Club
Silver Jubilee Celebration
March 1943**

Believe me it is not a mere platitude when I say that the Committee's invitation to me to preside at this dinner is a great honour conferred upon me, especially as I am convinced that owing to the long absence from the country, and specially from Bangalore, which covers 17 out of the 25 years of the Club's existence, I am the last person to be chosen to head the table on this festive occasion irrespective of the relations I had with this Club in the earlier days, as one of its office-bearers. Although my contemporaries present here to-night will bear me out when I say that we tried our level best to give the Club a sound and solid foundation, I for one can say but little about this Club after this long interval since I ceased to be an active member. I am almost a stranger to the present generation and these in turn are strangers to the very difficult conditions of society prevailing in 1918 when the Club was started. Differences in social habits were then more acute and a general levelling up took some time, for example we had to provide separate tables at Club dinners to respect the scruples of different castes and communities, at the earlier stages. The times have changed since. Besides this, we depended a great deal on official support and guidance.

The Club has entered into its manhood. When I left it in 1926 in its adolescent stage, it was exerting its youthful spirit of independence against the purely official atmosphere due to the patronage of Government under whose auspices the Club was started. The controversy about drinks and the question of admitting ladies created much stir in sensitive quarters at the time.

Tonight I miss, as do the members of my generation, many genial and kindly faces that we shall see no more. We warmly congratulate those that are still with us, specially Mr. Raghavendra Rao, and welcome the influx of fresh blood and of youth and vigour. The very large increase of membership shows its growing popularity. The beautiful Club House which is a lasting memento of the interest Sir Mirza Ismail, the Ex-Dewan, took in the Club, and its setting on the ground of the lovely Cubbon Park, are blessings for which we have to be thankful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

Before proceeding further, I would like to welcome on your behalf our distinguished guests who have kindly consented to be present here tonight. The Hon'ble the British Resident, Mr. Phillips, President Roosevelt's Special Envoy to India, and Sir M. Visvesvaraya. It is he who should have presided and taken the honours tonight. His presence is of great inspiration for he is the Father

as well as the God-Father of this Club. It is an honour to us to have them with us tonight and take part of this banquet celebrating the Silver Jubilee. To Sir M. Visvesvaraya we accord a special welcome as he was the President-Founder of this Club, which is an important landmark amongst several other achievements of his administration in the Mysore State as Dewan.

I stand before you today not as an ex-Dewan or a former President, but as an ordinary citizen returning to Bangalore after years of travel all over the world, studying human nature and institutions, specially club life in Great Britain, on the Continent of Europe, the United States of America and the British possessions of the Far East, not to leave out Mexico where in spite of diverse races and colours there is no prejudice of any kind amongst different communities all of which, irrespective of origin, form a part and parcel of the country and its peoples.

Clubs as you know, came into vogue in England early in the eighteenth century where notables in the society of art, literature, drama gathered together. But social clubs really developed amongst the British people in their Dependencies. I remember in the earlier days of my service, how British Officers formed clubs in small mofussil stations with just a few members representing the Revenue, the Police and the Church. An Englishman forms a club even in an island.

The institution of Indian Clubs in this country which after all is of British origin owes much of its success to British tradition and much of its failure to the defects inherent in the constitution and mentality as we find amongst the Europeans in this country. Their exclusiveness has widened the breach between the British and Indian social relations during the past half a century. This is not the time nor the occasion to refer to this question in detail.

The British people introduced a caste system in their club life and the system of black-balling those that did not come up to their class, even amongst themselves not to speak of Indians. We have imitated this to our disadvantage. On the other hand we have tried to imitate the institution of mixed clubs and in most places we have, in spite of our social difficulties, admitted ladies to our clubs, and as regards other amenities such as games, sports and refreshments, we have entirely followed the British pattern combating those scruples which stood in our way for the past half a century against inter-dining. As regards having drinks and treating others, it is a good British custom which we have followed. We have also adopted the black tie and dinner jacket as the standard male club attire making room for a diversity of custom in dress, some of which are not quite suitable for modern ideas.

My experience in foreign countries of club life, especially in America, leads me to think that we

can learn many things from that country. Their wonderful atmosphere of social equality and comradeship, their cultural activities in the spheres of art, music, literature, the *Bon-homi* of members irrespective of class distinctions and the participation of ladies, are special features fit to be emulated. Sports being highly specialised and having also a professional side to it, have been kept apart in clubs of their own, and there are several grades of such clubs to suit the pockets of the different grades of people in a country where the standard of living is high, and yet the desire for social intercourse in all forms of social activities is great amongst all American peoples. I have visited the clubs of New York, such as the Century Club, the Twenty Club and the Country Clubs in the Middle East and in the West, specially in Hollywood and Los Angeles. I had the hospitality of many clubs in the United States and became a temporary member of a few thus showing that even foreigners are hail fellows well met, irrespective of the country they come from. In London, I belonged to the Royal Societies Club, one of the oldest, the Royal Empire Society Club and also formed an International Club in Richmond. I co-operated with Sir Evelyn Wrench in his efforts to establish an All-Peoples Association as a non-political Social Club and enjoyed the hospitality of many other clubs such as the National Liberal, the Carlton, Athænum, where I watched the mentality

of the club-going people who were divided into interesting social groups.

This is not the time nor the occasion to touch on politics nor the acute communal problem facing us in India today, or the tug-of-war between the influence and stiff-necked attitude of officials, the resentment and self-sufficiency of non-officials, a new feature in our social life. We have to look back to the days when such a club was not possible to organise and take pride in the fact that our social conditions have advanced on liberal lines to admit of the club instinct to grow amongst us. Old prejudices are dying out. But while we have learnt to eat and drink together and have refreshments at the same table, we have to guard against a few dangers that might prejudice the growth of club life in this country. We should think as Indians in the first place, and respect the scruples and susceptibilities of others. We have our communal prejudices which club life alone can extinguish. We have our masculine superiority complex which only club life can eliminate. We have a premium set on official positions which only club life can destroy, and lastly: we have learnt a spirit of exclusiveness and a desire to exercise individual rights and privileges to the detriment of a common social atmosphere which only club life can foster.

A few suggestions therefore coming from one who was associated with this club in its earlier stages

and who has since travelled far and wide may not be taken amiss. Firstly we have to adapt our constitution to the changed conditions of modern life. We should be neither too democratic nor encourage dictatorship. Small cliques and coteries have to be discouraged and while the freedom of the individual must be safeguarded, a club community consciousness must be developed through a strong representative committee, which when once appointed should be given full executive powers both as regards membership and general control.

In India a new social order is in the making in which differences between officials and non-officials, between class and creed are slowly giving way to a spirit of toleration and mutual understanding. The co-operation of ladies who are now all over India taking a leading part in social and political movements, must be secured at all costs and towards this end our Indian clubs, specially the Century Club which has a good tradition and is older than many, should provide special facilities and also invest lady members with a dignified status in the club organisation. My experience shows that wherever women have a legitimate place in clubs, they exercise a healthy influence and also promote a proper understanding in social relationships. Lastly Indian Clubs should not be places where we can only eat and drink together and have sports. Club activity should include entertainments,

concerts, lectures and the club-house provide lounges, lecture halls and a stage with a dancing hall. Comfortable quiet corners for those needing rest, a quiet chat with friends and reading should be provided for with a good library.

In this time of war it is the duty of all clubs to open their doors and be hospitable to the Indian officers of the fighting forces many of whom have no where to go, and also to the large number of cadets who are under training in Bangalore without insisting on the formality of regular elections. This, as you know, is done in most of the big clubs in India today and we may follow suit.

I must not miss the opportunity of making a brief reference to post-war reconstruction about which we hear so much today. India must take its proper place in any scheme or plan and, has the power to do it. This has to be done by team-work consisting of industrial and economic experts in touch with world problems in closest co-operation with the United Nations. If India is relegated to a subordinate position and made a victim of so-called scientific capitalism or rational socialism without giving it a fair chance or voice, the peace of the world will be in grave danger. Mysore has played and is playing a great part today, and Mysore's co-operation not merely in any Indian but also in world economic planning will be the greatest asset for the future.

In conclusion, I hope I may be pardoned for my outspokenness and will end my speech with a quotation from the *Essays of Montaigne* on social intercourse:

"Life is an unequal, irregular, multi-form movement. To follow incessantly one's own inclinations to be so held by them as not to be able to deviate from them or twist them out of their course, is to be not our own friend, still less our master, but our own slave."

I now give you the Toast of the Century Club.
May it live long and continue in its useful career.

**Contribution to "Federal India and Indian States"
on "Post-War Problems of Indian States"**

June 1943

A few extracts from Chapter X on Ruling Princes of my book *The Indian Tangle*, published in London nearly ten years ago, will be a fitting introduction to the subject now looming large in the minds of the Princes and the intelligent section amongst their subjects, at the present time. Although the observations now quoted have special reference to the question of All-India Federation, including the Indian States as envisaged in the Act of 1935, they are relevant so far as the complicated problems connected with the Federal structure of the future—or any other alternatives such as the Union of India to be explained later—is concerned. The extracts are these.

"We have thus today over six hundred independent political units in India, great and small, called Indian States, which have all obtained their permanence, and security from the British Government under separate treaties, sanads and agreements. These States represent every aspect and phase of Indian history and life. The Princes of Rajaputana can claim genealogies dating back into the mythical ages and represent the tradition of Hindu chivalry. In South India, the Rulers of Mysore, Cochin and Travancore represent the descendants of the Aryan invaders

from the north. Then there are the Mahratta Rulers like Gaekwar and Scindia, who date from the rise of the Mahratta power in the eighteenth century. The Punjab States recall the great days of Ranjit Singhji and the Sikh Confederacy. The Nizam of Hyderabad represents, with lesser Mohamadan Rulers, those who survived the downfall of Moslem supremacy. It is a characteristic feature that in some of the important States, the rulers are neither of the same race nor of the same creed as the majority of their subjects. The conspicuous examples are the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Maharaja of Kashmir.

"The States cover an area of 6,75,000 square miles, and vary in size from a few square miles to a country as large as Italy, such as Hyderabad, with a population of 14½ millions. They have come at varying times under the suzerain authority of the British Government through definite treaties entered into with the Rulers individually. The status and authority of these Princes was the subject of an investigation by the Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler in 1928. In concluding the Report, the Committee said:

'While impressed with the need for great caution in dealing with a body so heterogeneous as the Indian Princes, so conservative, so sensitive, so tenacious of internal sovereignty, we confess, that our imagination is powerfully affected

by the stirring of new life and new hopes in the States, by the progress achieved and by the possibilities of the future.'

"The problem of the Indian States is not merely one of defining the status of Indian Princes with reference to the Paramount Power, but chiefly, if not entirely, the adjustment of relations between the Government of India as such and the Government of the Indian States. The important fact that the position and status of the Rulers does not provide a complete solution is often overlooked. The constitutional reforms in British India have materially influenced public opinion in the Indian States, and created a keen desire on the part of the subjects of the Princes to take a larger share in the administration of their country. The conflict in most States between the autocratic power of the Ruler and the claim of subjects to transfer at least a part of this authority to constitutional agencies, is keener today than ever in the past.

"Various questions which arise from the position and status of the Indian Princes themselves have necessarily to be outside the jurisdiction of any Federal Government or Union that may be set up. They include minority administration, training of heirs, the civil lists, foreign travel, State budget and finance, palace and military and personal conduct of Ruling Princes. The Princes played a great part in the first Round Table Conference by agreeing to come into the

Federal Scheme and thus surrendering their position of isolated grandeur and internal sovereignty up to a certain point. Their attitude of co-operation in the work of framing the new constitution rendered it possible for the Conference to come to a unanimous resolution regarding Responsibility at the Centre with safeguards and reservations. But no section of the Conference at the time fully realised the implications and obligations involved before the Federal Structure could be built on a solid foundation. The result, as I then anticipated, was a cleavage of opinion between various groups representing the Indian States, one standing for the Federal India and the other championing a system of Confederation of States".

LESSONS OF PAST EXPERIENCE

Past experience shows that the more the Federal idea was pressed, the more were the problems that arose, with reference to the Sovereignty, Status, etc., of States in relation to firstly, the Paramount Power, and secondly, to the British Indian Provinces. The Federal idea was suspended soon after the war broke out, and it is doubtful if ever it will be revived in its original form when the future constitution of India is to be framed almost *de novo*, with special reference to post-war problems of reconstruction. Right now, we have the Muslim League cry for Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha, the minorities,

not to speak of the Congress, oppose it. The Cripps proposals did not consider the Indian States and they were more or less put in the background. The present political deadlock and other happenings in British and Indian India gave little hope for settlement. But there is no reason why constructive schemes should not be considered during the war, by all parties concerned. There are so many put forward now that deserve attention. How they can be brought on the anvil of discussion is a matter for the Princes and the British Indian political leaders to agree upon. It cannot be denied that the summoning of a Constituent Assembly before the termination of the war, will be a right solution, for many things may happen in Indian politics in the interval which will make the Indian Tangle more complicated than ever.

Those who have read Clarence Streit's book *Union Now*, published in 1939 before the war broke out, may remember that he advocated the establishment of a Federal Government, by the people of fifteen Democracies in Europe and America including the British Empire. India was excluded in this scheme as it was not a full-fledged democracy. If such a union had been created and India included therein with full Dominion Status, it is doubtful whether Hitler could have had his way, in regard to his lust for world domination.

Countries enjoying full independence have not been able to retain it, or their territorial integrity

in the present war, as the League of Nations had no effective machinery by way of an international Police Force, or Equity Tribunal.

The religious cleavage in India is intensified by the constitution of India into a single State. If India were a group of States, the religious factor would be eliminated by making each group a Dominion, based on racial, linguistic and religious differences. The Government of India is surely a British invention, and a scheme such as the Union of India including Indian States as outlined below, may help to reconcile Hindu-Muslim differences and prevent the breaking up of India into fragments when India gets Independence, with her present political and geographical divisions.

The Indian States have remained distinct political units under British Rule founded on treaties and sanads and the two parts of India today present a variegated coloured map in the Atlas.

One solution of the political problem of India is the substitution of the Empire of India by a League of Dominions, Kingdoms and Tribal Lands. Out of what is known as British India, roughly thirteen racially and linguistically homogeneous Dominions could be constituted. Twelve or more of the principal Indian States could be raised to the rank of Dominion. Outside the North-West Frontier, the Punjab and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh no less than eight racially and linguistically homo-

geneous Dominions could be constituted. Bengal might be made a Dominion with two autonomous provinces so that the Hindus would form one province and the Moslems the other.

The predominantly Moslem districts of the United Provinces might be constituted into a Muslim State with Lucknow as its capital and Urdu as the official language, and the rest of the United Provinces may be constituted into a Hindu State with Hindi as the official language. The North-West Frontier Province should be united with the predominantly Moslem districts of the Punjab, and constituted into a Moslem Dominion. The Lahore Division would make a Dominion of Sikhs, and the rest of the present Punjab could form a Hindu Dominion.

The same principle can be applied to the Madras Presidency by the redistribution of the areas under Tamil, Telugu and Malayalee population. Thus, in British India, the present cries of Pakistan, Dravidistan and the other Stans could be harmonised and in the New Order for British India, Autonomous Sovereign States should be constituted as in the United States of America—Dominions of South Africa and Canada.

Indian States must come into this Union and will have to be made Dominions or grouped together on the same principle. The recent scheme of "Merger" which the Crown Representative introduced for some of the smaller States of Kathiawar

can be applied more extensively throughout India for the purpose of constituting a Union. Only recently, the Viceroy of India advised the Chamber of Princes to pool their sovereignty. In 1939, the Political Department issued a circular asking all States with an annual income of less than twenty lakhs of rupees to join regional confederations. Under the new order, it will be impossible for the smaller States in India to exist economically as it has to afford military and other protection to these hundreds of small States. We have to consider the respective merits of the 'Merger' and Confederation Schemes, and whichever way the Indian India is re-grouped into Dominions, we have got to guard against the criticism that bigger States are being organised as a Second Line of Defence against India's demand for freedom.

The Union idea based on the lines indicated above, presupposes that each Dominion will be economically self-sufficient and enjoy full autonomy subject to its being linked up with a strong Federal Government which will concern itself with the defence of all-India, under arrangements with each unit regarding contribution of man-power, raw materials, harbour, shipping, trunk railways, telegraphs and wireless, Navy and Air Force.

The Indian States newly constituted as Dominions and those grouped with others, will contribute towards the Federal Army, Navy and Air Force

like the rest of the units in the Union in proportion to the financial resources, man-power and need for protection against foreign aggression. In the Federal Centre, there will be no Political Department as now, but a Foreign Office and Economic Union, and also an Equity Tribunal. It will be presided over by a President and there will be a body of Ministers chosen by election from candidates selected by each autonomous Dominion who will form the Congress of Delegates. Each Dominion may be left to form its own constitution, unilateral or bicameral, based on adult suffrage, and literacy. There is no need for a standardised constitution for each State or Dominion. Let each develop politically according to its own bent. The State Dominions will have the Rulers as Presidents with a hereditary title. Those that are grouped or merged will have the senior-most Ruler as the President, the others being given a seat in the Senate of each Dominion Parliament.

The old order must give place to the new, and those that stand for vested interests in any shape or form and not for Government for the common good of the people should know that their days are numbered after this war. This applies to India as well. If strife and struggle for power by certain sections alone continue, there will surely be a revolt from within which will make India a prey for more than one generation to foreign aggression and exploitation.

**Speech before the Rotary Club, Bangalore, on
"Place of India in the World to Come"**

July 1943

The subject is full of controversial points and one must mind his p's and q's in talking about it, and yet I must discharge the task I have undertaken on myself to the best of my ability and knowledge.

The place of India in any future plan of world reconstruction cannot be discussed without reviewing the place she holds today, not only within the British Empire but also in the American continent, Europe and Asia. In one sense her position today is an isolated one, unique in many respects and full of potentialities for good or evil. As a part of the British Empire she still holds a subordinate position, and has yet to be an equal partner with Great Britain and the other Dominions. There is no need to dwell on this aspect of India's recent political history, which is a matter of common knowledge throughout the world.

In European countries, the place that India has held is one of luke-warm interest. In world affairs so far as they could be judged from the proceedings of the League of Nations, since it was established, India as a country did not exercise or rather was not able to exercise any potent influence. Individually, the noble sons of India raised her in

the estimation of the world at large by their achievements in the domain of literature, science and valuable research in various fields, specially her ancient civilisation as evidenced by recent archaeological discoveries. Apart from these, India's place is inferior in status and she doesn't count for much in any plan or scheme so far enunciated for world reconstruction conceived by eminent thinkers. That clearly shows want of recognition of India's place in the world or her true potentialities. Take Steit for example who, in his famous book, *Union Now*, published before the war, suggested a federation of fifteen democracies of the world, including the British Empire but excluding India, on the ground that India's politically inexperienced millions cannot be included on the same population basis as the Western democracies. H. G. Wells in his book, *The New World Order*, deliberately excluded in his scheme Russia, India, Near and Far East, as having very little to do in the creation of a New World Order. He said:

"The establishment of a progressive world socialism in which the freedom, health and happiness of every individual are protected by a universal law based on a re-declaration of the rights of man, and wherein there is the utmost liberty of thought, criticism and suggestion, is the plain, rational objective before us now."

Such is the European and Western conception of the New World Order.

Even during the progress of the war, declarations have been made by the President of the United States and the British Prime Minister on the subject of world reconstruction, which would justify the belief that they were both speaking in terms of a European Order and not World Order. The Atlantic Charter was a joint declaration of both these eminent statesmen and left a doubt if it applied to India, though Mr. Churchill on a subsequent occasion stated: "We have pledged by the declaration of August 1940 to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations, subject of course to the fulfilment of obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests." Then again, in the early part of 1943, Mr. Churchill in a broadcast on the Post-War Reconstruction said: "It will be our hope that the United Nations headed by the British Commonwealth of Nations, U.S.A. and Soviet Russia should immediately begin to confer upon the future world organisation, which is to be our safeguard against future wars." He conceived the idea of the Council of Europe and a Council of Asia, and added that the permanent interests of Britain, United States and Russia have to be harmonised. In the world to come India has no definite future

foreshadowed by those who have started reconstructing the world in their own way. The point I wish to make is that both in the United States and in the British Commonwealth, the place that India holds today is not one of very great consequence.

The place India has in other Asiatic countries need not be described in detail, except that, being independent, these countries naturally consider themselves higher in political status, as Egypt. Even such countries as Hungary, the Balkans, also Turkey labour under this impression. In the Scandinavian countries, Indian culture attracts attention but not her politics.

European countries like France and Holland, which have large Colonial Empires, did not view with favour India's Nationalist Movement or her desire for freedom. In South Africa the policy of discrimination against Indians, which even today has been accentuated by the Pegging Act, shows the inferior place India holds in that Union, even in war time.

In Japan, the attitude towards India has been distinctly hostile to Indian Nationalism and its watchful interest has been one of contempt of Indians as being inferior, and hatred of British rule. She has been attempting to gain an economic hold on India in the first instance as part of a Pan-Asiatic policy of her own.

The United States have had strange relations in the past with India ; one of friendliness and

sympathy and yet a close eye upon the economic possibilities of an Indo-American understanding. Today India attracts much attention in the U.S.A. and we have had recently a special Envoy of President Roosevelt—Mr. Phillips, to visit the country. For what purpose in view, we have yet to know.

In concluding this review I quote the authority of Sir Frederic Whyte to show that India has very few real friends and is really isolated and apart from the rest of the world. In his book, *The Future of East and West*, he said: "India representing only herself, is altogether a different world to which Europeans find no easy access, and there is much that other Asiatics neither value nor understand. India is apart from the rest of the world including most of Asia." And yet, according to Sir George Schuster, "India cannot live to herself or work out her own future untroubled from the outside world. In Jawaharlal Nehru's book, *Unity of India*, he said "there can be no world arrangement which is based on ignoring India or China".

This brings us again to the main question what place India is to have in the world to come. No one can picture what the world will be after this war, whether politically there will be a federation in the West as well as in the East to prevent future wars and how the Axis Powers will be dealt with. We have no doubt, many expositions of our war and peace aims and many schemes. But every

cupboard has a skeleton and there is no country which has not any domestic problem that may shake the very foundation of a stable understanding at the Peace Conference. The U.S.A. has her colour problem, her titanic struggle between labour and capital, the aftermath of her lease and lend policy and the economic crisis that is to follow in the wake of a devastated Europe, millions of unemployed men and women, shortage of food and other necessities of life in all the liberated countries. Britain has her own domestic problems of Capitalism versus Labour, her Indian problem, her fear of Communism and her colonial possessions in which their population is pulsating with a new life. In addition, she is greatly concerned with the future of lost possessions in Malaya and Burma when reconquered. France and Holland have their problems relating to their big Colonial Empire. There are the problems of several minority nations in Central Europe, and lastly, the future relationship of Soviet Russia with the other countries of Europe and Asia including Iraq, Persia and Afghanistan. In the opinion of some, Russia is sure to exercise great influence in framing post-war reconstruction schemes for Europe as well as Asia. Can her permanent interests be reconciled with those of Great Britain and U.S.A.? Finally, China when liberated from the Japanese aggression is sure to take her proper place in a Federation of Pacific States to which reference

was made by a Chinese Ambassador in a broadcast on "The Family of Nations". He said: "The future world government should be a super-federation of some regional set-ups as the League of Europe, the Confederation of American States, the British Commonwealth, the Confederation of Pacific States, the Confederation of Western and South-Western Asiatic States." He does not specifically mention India.

Will India emerge after the war from all these spheres of conflict, competition and confusion as a free country collaborating on equal terms with the United Nations at the Peace Conference? What part will India and China play in the future re-adjustment of relationship between East and West between Europe and Asia? These are questions to which I cannot give clear answers. This much, however, is certain. Agreements and reconciliation between rival interests in each country or group of countries will be difficult to reach. As an inferior nation, India will be handicapped as a member of the Peace Conference in the settlement of world problems unless she is given an independent status.

We in India stand to lose everything unless we endeavour to bring into existence a Union of India with an independent status holding equal partnership with the Reconstructed British Commonwealth and other Unions. Now is the time to think and act and take constructive steps to secure her future place in the world to come.

The internal situation in India, it is true, is not entirely of our own making but the want of unity which has stood in the way of any permanent satisfactory settlement has become almost a world problem. Pearl Buck only recently at Montreal said: "There will be no peace unless it is built upon the primary conception of equality of all mankind. Moslems, Hindus and all others, you must undertake this for the sake of this world because this quarrel between you has become a quarrel affecting the freedom of all peoples. You must find ways of coming together. The damage done must be undone by proving that India can be united where differences can be accepted and allowed without quarrel or destruction." It is an axiomatic truth that no country can secure for itself freedom to work out its own destiny regardless of the policies of other countries. Wireless transmission, the speeding up of transport, the development of air travel and rail connections, will revolutionise the economic and social life of the people and the world. In the struggle between democracy and totalitarianism, India's future hope lies in the ultimate victory of democracy if she is to find her proper place in the New World in alliance with the two pillars of democracy, the United States of America and Great Britain.

A general agreement as to the economic policy and defence must be reached throughout the world

with India as an equal partner. This presupposes a Federal Centre through a political Union of a group of countries allied together geographically, culturally and by natural instincts. We will have to reconsider Streit's scheme of "Union Now" in a different light.

What are the alternatives before India, when the New World Order comes into being? The new European Order whether it be a federation of nations or a new League with effective powers, will give sufficient incentive to individual European nations to come into a group that suits their own traditional as well as racial inclinations, but what about Asia? Some fear that a treaty between the U.S.A. and Great Britain will establish a formidable Union, and as between the two there will be a tug-of-war as to which one succeeds in directing the policy of the New World Order, especially in countries yet to be exploited, for raw materials. Will India have a fair deal when she sets about framing the new constitution? Recently, the well-known Editor, Mr. John Jessup, in an article in *Life*, said: "Asia's distrust of Britain is one of the circumstances which will be a danger to the United States when she gets wedded to Great Britain's Asiatic Policy including the policy for India. The only way the white man can rehabilitate his reputation in Asia is to share this Asian eagerness for full independence." Thus we see that whichever

way influence of these two democracies may make itself felt, India will be between the devil and the deep sea, unless she can get definite guarantee from Great Britain as regards her pledges to give her freedom, and then only it will be possible for her to go into the British Commonwealth of Nations as the only group of countries in which she can find a safe and honourable place. At all events, a great deal will depend on the part India and China are allowed to play in the future relations between East and West and between Europe and Asia. Unity of purpose between these two countries will solve the Japanese problem. It will also make Great Britain as a leading partner in the British Commonwealth realise that she has to adopt a new policy for her Dominions and for her Colonies and particularly for India, if she wants to keep all her friends together without conflict or jealousy as between her own group and the other groups in Europe and the Trans-Atlantic countries which will no doubt be led by U.S.A. as the head of the Pan-American Group.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, soon after the war was declared, stressed the importance of dealing with the Indian problems as an international one, and in this he is right. But does he give sufficient importance to the necessity of unity in India within herself without which she cannot be reckoned with, even now during the war or after? Foreign writers

are trying to impress upon us this paramount need. According to Schuster whom I have already quoted, the two bastions of Western civilisation must be the British Commonwealth and the United States and the bastions in the East must be India and China. When the new constitution of India is going to be framed a provision for international sphere of action to preserve peace as between the two groups should be made. It would take a long time after the war, for Europe to revive and do anything economically substantial to contribute towards world peace in the future.

In conclusion, my suggestion is, we must at the earliest moment settle Hindu-Moslem differences, reconstruct our Hindu social system, remove the rigours of caste and social injustice, also poverty of the masses by constructive schemes and plans spread over a number of years. If we claim equality for ourselves, we must have equality amongst different creeds, communities, and castes in India, then only will India be able to hold her proper place in the Council of Nations for reconstruction after the war.

**Speech before the Athenæum Club, Jaipur, on
"Post-War Reconstruction with Special
Reference to India"
December 1943**

Post-war reconstruction is almost a hackneyed phrase but owing to the colossal magnitude of its problems unprecedented in world history, it is puzzling the peoples of the world and their Leaders. But before one can arrive at any practical scheme of reconstruction so called, it is necessary to assess if it is at all possible with any accuracy, the damage that will be caused morally and materially at the end of the war to the Allied and United Nations as well as the enemy countries and those occupied by them now, even when liberated, and the moral and material rehabilitation of nations that will have to be undertaken. Some lessons can also be gained from the history of Europe during two decades after the declaration of peace at the end of the last war, and a closer study of the aftermath which overwhelmed Europe and even the U.S.A.—the richest and most economically prosperous country in the world at that time. We all know how the prognostications of most political and economic soothsayers were falsified.

The economic crisis which overtook most countries in 1921, continued until 1939 when the present war broke out. Russia alone stood isolated,

distrusted and misjudged and began reconstruction after the revolution which has produced results that will remain the marvel of world history of the twentieth century. Unemployment in England reached a maximum of nearly three million. Sweden hitherto an economically prosperous country crashed after the fall of Krueger, her exports dwindled and Scandinavian countries were faced with the loss of export trade, shipping was paralysed. In the United States economic depression reached its lowest level soon after 1926. France was torn by political intrigue and corruption and suffered from loss of economic prosperity. Germany embittered, defied the Versailles Treaty and began rearming in deadly earnest and conserved her economic re-sources. The League of Nations proved impotent to enforce its decisions. The fear of living possessed the people of Europe for twenty years since 1919, stirred up unrest, bitterness and a sense of despair. Cities and ports were divided up. Thousands of kilometres of custom barriers were set up. A bitter economic war lasted for many years between Poland and Germany. Every country claimed some part from its adjacent neighbours. Hungary was dismembered, and a newly created State of Poland and Czechoslovakia came into being. Yugoslavia and Italy were at logger heads. Bulgaria became the hotbed of unrest in the Balkans. Dictatorships sprang up in Greece, Yugoslavia and finally in Italy

and Germany where Fascism and national socialism of the most aggressive type came into existence under Mussolini and Hitler, threatening democracy itself. Economic units were destroyed irrespective of ties and interdependence. Nothing was done for production and peace investments. Large loans were incurred through Allied help for re-armament purposes. New currencies were created. Instead of free exchange of goods there were foreign currency restrictions. Industries were strangled. Many Central European Banks failed in 1931. There were four thousand of miles of customs boundaries which strangled trade. There was a fall in wages as well as in the standard of living. Countries lacking of labour were forbidden immigration of foreign workers. Unemployment figures rose by leaps and bounds (6 million in all). These were the results of post-war reconstruction after the last War. We can surely take a lesson right now and ponder what will be the nature of world conditions at the end of the present war.

Generally speaking, there was no freedom of movement of labour, or utilisation of labour released after the war. On the other hand, restrictions of import and exports, inflation of currency and no international agreement for working hours or the utilisation of raw materials of undeveloped countries on an international basis. In other words, nationalism in its worst form brought about an economic

crisis of the first magnitude. As far as one can see it is not so difficult to picture the world conditions after the present war. Firstly, the appalling loss of life can be counted in millions. In Russia alone, according to one estimate, it is already 10 million. The total amongst Allied nations including civilians and persons perished will be probably as large, if not larger, when all the lives lost in air raids are included with those lost from starvation under Nazi and Japanese persecution. Consider the scorched earth policy, destruction of valuable natural resources and the productive possibility of long-established industries, the destruction of property by air raids in big cities needing wholesale reconstruction and rebuilding on a big scale (*e.g.*, London). From where will the materials be forthcoming, especially in impoverished countries? Future plans of reconstruction must face the spread of diseases such as Typhus and Tuberculosis, loss of power of resistance against disease through starvation and high mortality amongst women, children, the aged and the weak. It is foreshadowed by exports that our defeated enemies alone will have health and stamina. A grim outlook indeed.

The natural resources of Allied countries used up to make bombs and bullets which will all be shot away and tanks, planes and ships, which may not return, will leave them all the poorer. There will be a great shortage of food and raw materials for

basic industries such as high grade ore, even copper, oil resources, timber, etc. Even the United States are wondering if she will be self-supporting after the war. What about England? Her Dominions and Colonies and lastly India which is giving all she can towards the war efforts?

Morally and educationally there will be a setback, loss of eminent scientists, experts and inventors, interruption of studies amongst the youth of every country through conscription and the restoration of normal life will present difficult problems. The number of women employed when demobilised will return home with a different outlook with reduced prospects of marriage and happy home life.

Post-war reconstruction has to be tackled on a global basis just as the global war. It cannot be based on nationalism but established on internationalism. The world will be very much closer knit together and no small nation will exist without security guaranteed with international co-operation or help. Even India and China will have to follow the international principles of co-ordination and co-operation. In India the post-war reconstruction schemes should not be based on the territorial division basis, but co-ordinated for all the Provinces and States. Some kind of political and economic union has to be thought of in regard to her constitution and her future place in the New World Order.

Internally, the first problem in India is a co-ordinated scheme for the whole sub-continent. Conserving our natural resources, increasing food production, combating disease and a low power of resistance are fundamental problems of national improvement in India. On the top of it co-ordinated research for industrial development on a big scale is essential. These are ever constant Indian problems that only will have to be viewed from a new angle.

It may also be necessary for India to group herself with several countries for international co-operation such as China, Persia and the Middle East. The economic policy of Great Britain will greatly affect India's future attitude towards the British Commonwealth. If it is to be no longer exploitation but give and take, there is some hope of harmonious reconstruction. The United States also will be a big factor specially under the Lease and Lend arrangement, and what reparations, refunds and compensations she will claim for herself from the Allies, and the defeated belligerents is still an open question.

Railways and Airways will have to be nationalised for the whole of India, so also customs, tariffs, exports and imports. Harbour and shipping will have to be developed. If each country prepares its own scheme for reconstruction it will never be put into practice. Similarly, if each Province or State in India prepares its own scheme it

will be found unworkable. The world problems will be similar in character and will have to be faced standing on the ground of basic needs for the maintenance of human civilisation and rehabilitating the damage that will be brought about by the ravages of the present ruthless war.

So far as India is concerned, fortunately for her she has not experienced the severe trials due to war conditions of European countries or China, either in loss of life, property or general dislocation of her economic life, though dangers are ahead. But amidst all the sacrifices she is making for the war effort, she has to be ready and work out a co-ordinated reconstruction plan. Internally her agriculture and transport and basic industries will have to be reconstructed on a large scale, side by side with a big drive to improve the living conditions of the people, public health and medical care plans for millions living in rural parts suffering from low power of resistance and malnutrition. India should aim at self-sufficiency of food. The earning capacity of the population per head should be raised with a higher standard of living. Capital and labour have to be brought under a basis of co-operation not exploitation. These are no doubt the standing problems of India of national well-being but they will be more pressing and urgent when peace comes or else the Bengal tragedy may be repeated without the slightest warning.

Lastly, we must start collecting all-India statistics regarding food supplies, consumption per head under the principal classes of food available, death from starvation, output of large industries for war purposes, their future stability and development. Mobilisation of man-power for defence and industrial development, plans for utilisation of labour released from army and war industries to face large-scale unemployment have to be undertaken. Present cost of living and lastly, the purchasing power of Indian currency with its relation to foreign exchange of post-war economy, public debt and capital investment will all have to be investigated.

Without adequate data which is lacking in this country, no reconstruction plan can be otherwise than based on theory. There will also be some new problems such as disposal of foreign nationals, refugees and evacuees from Europe, Burma and Malaya, etc. In conclusion, I should like to emphasise the importance of time factor and urge a full realisation of the present and future dangers. If we all, both in British India and the Indian States, can be ready for action and not leave things to the eleventh hour, there is some hope that the whole country may have a proper understanding of post-war reconstruction as a whole.

**Speech at the Century Club
Congratulating Recipients of Mysore Honours
August 1944**

This gathering tonight is of unique importance showing as it does social solidarity amongst the club community, desirous of honouring those to whom honour is due, regardless of caste, community, religion or profession. We have under the British system of honours the V.C. and other military titles bestowed on soldiers, peerage, baronetcy, knight-hoods and other two or three letter honours to statesmen, business magnates and officials. People are still inclined to form cliques and groups to follow a system of caste in this respect and do hero worship within their own group or circle.

Tonight we are gathered together to congratulate those amongst the members of our Club who have been singly marked by Royal favour that bestowed upon them princely recognition for public services well done. I do not wish to make invidious distinction by mentioning names, but wish my observations to be taken as applicable to all our distinguished recipients.

The custom of conferring rewards and honours is of ancient origin and prevailed even amongst the Romans. Montaigne in his essays says:

"It was a pretty idea, and has been accepted in most of the governments of the world,

to institute certain marks as an honour and reward of virtue, such as wreaths of laurel, oak, and myrtle, a garment fashioned in a certain way, the privilege of riding through the town in a coach or of being preceded by a torch by night, some particular seat in the public assemblies, the prerogative of bearing certain surnames and titles, a certain distinction in the coat of arms, and similar things, which have prevailed and still prevail in different degrees according to the notions prevalent in different nations."

The Mysore titles called *Berundas* or *Manamaryadas* have, I believe, an ancient origin but were actually renewed in 1892 and take the forms of titles, decorations, souvenirs, medals, killats, etc., presented in true Oriental fashions in Palace Durbars—a very impressive function indeed.

The European custom is affixing titles to names except peerages, and the Indian custom is prefixing titles to names. One does not know which is better, *i.e.*, to have a long tail or a bigger frontage! In the United States of America they do not know the meaning of alphabetical letters after names, and as the most modern democratic country they do not follow the custom of conferring honours. As we all know, they prefer Mr. to Esq., in addressing individuals, and as regards the prefix of Sir, they often regard it with ridicule and amusement.

There are naturally two opinions about honours, one to make much of them and the other to belittle their importance. I think the middle view is the correct attitude though even governments can overdo the thing for party reasons as was once complained of in England.

It is strange and somewhat significant that Prime Ministers of England like Lloyd George, Ramsay MacDonald and even the present Prime Minister Winston Churchill have not coveted or received honours though they have had the gift of such things in their hands. Even Gladstone died unhonoured and many such examples can be quoted in English political history. So long as honours do not bestow undue privileges for gain in the social community, they are an incentive to honest and meritorious service. Such is the case no doubt in Mysore. Honours are often exploited for political purpose in England, and even bought in some cases as power is attached to them. But such instances should not arise in democracy and that is why in the U.S.A. where money plays such a tremendous part in social and political life, honours are not the custom for they are likely to be abused and lead to corruption and tyranny.

Coming nearer home, Mysore has the unique distinction in India of having instituted the grant of Royal favour in the form of suitable titles not stereotyped or put in watertight compartments but

flexible to suit individual cases, a flexibility that gives a wider latitude in selection for meritorious services when recognised by the Sovereign and the nature of the souvenir accompanying it.

We are proud to have amongst the members of this Club so many who have received such recognition in various fields of activity and we convey to them our congratulations and best wishes. We wish for them higher honours to come and to give an incentive to others to emulate their example.

One thing is remarkable and that is this—there is no jealousy or cynicism about the conferment of honours by H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore nor wrangling and manoeuvring for them—a habit prevalent, I am sorry to say, in British India. There is no value in honours when they are sought through back stairs influence. They should come unasked but unfortunately the privilege coming in the wake of some honours make them a marketable commodity. However, we may rightly say that governments and nations should make the institution of rewards to their citizens an efficacious method of encouraging honest and faithful service to their country and its peoples. In this respect Mysore sets a good example. With these words I give you the toast of health, prosperity and success to the gentlemen whom we are honouring here tonight.

Letter to the "Times of India,"

"What Next ?"

October 1944

The reaction in India after the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks amongst many influential personages as well as the press, has been given wide publicity during the past few days, and it may be considered that no useful purpose will be served by adding to the opinions expressed by all sections in the Indian political field. I am, however, anxious to lay emphasis on certain aspects not as yet referred to in the comments already published.

The general conclusion of the man-in-the street, who is not politically minded and who views the whole matter from a commonsense point of view is, that these discussions instead of clarifying the issues have made them more confounded than ever, bringing forth technical and constitutional difficulties almost insoluble. Secondly, the chances of a general agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League have become extremely remote and whether any negotiations between these two parties can be revived with any hope of success is a question to which there can, I think, be but one answer. Thirdly, it is almost certain that the British Government will not raise their little finger to make a gesture to remove the political deadlock

till the war is over, and as such, the Indian political situation is in danger of suffering steady deterioration during the next year or two.

Under these circumstances what are the duties of other leaders of India outside the Congress circle, and the Muslim League, some of whom were in close touch with Mr. Gandhi when the discussions began? Should they not now meet and try to bring together all the interested parties, and would it not be desirable to convene an All-Parties Conference similar to the one that was held during the last war under the chairmanship of the late Mr. Motilal Nehru? I make this suggestion as a non-partisan and a layman who does not claim to be a politician. Mr. Gandhi himself suggested an arbitration to settle the differences between him and Mr. Jinnah. If something is not done immediately by the Indian people through their accredited leaders in every section of political opinion and interest, I fear there is going to be a serious set-back in the Indian situation, a set-back that may possibly lead to consequences too dreadful to contemplate. It is well to ponder over the words used by Mr. Gandhi—"War to the knife"—which should serve as a grave warning to those who have, I believe, the power to avert a great national disaster.

Stray Thoughts on "Power Politics"

1944

What is Power Politics? It is a term of expression that has come into vogue since Dictatorships appeared in the region of political activity in some of the countries of Europe. Those who are the pioneers so to speak of power politics, sprang from nowhere to begin with, were insignificant persons found in disgrace in the eyes of their fellow-beings who in the exercise of authority vested in them at that time, persecuted them, tried to limit their activities and put them in restraint. All these tendencies to oppose power politics only aggravated their characteristics. These we see in the case of Mussolini and Hitler in a particular manner.

But Power Politics has a wider significance. Democracy has never been used for the purpose of exercising power with brute force, but Power Politics has become the philosophy of those who believe in the exercise of power through certain political doctrines of their own, which by propaganda and constant preaching, they expect to spread amongst the great masses of people. When I was in Germany and Hitler was then not so very powerful, but trying to consolidate National Socialism as a creed fit for the Germans to adopt, he went about the country like a demagogue lecturing to the young students, businessmen, scientists, university

graduates, and I do not know whether he even could have imagined in his wildest dreams that he would be a great power over the whole length and breadth of Germany as the leader of Nazism. Power Politics has for its foundation political theories to be applied for the purpose of galvanising a nation with the threat of using power against those who are unwilling to follow the creed. This we have seen exemplified in the Fascist countries as well as in Soviet Russia and lastly in Nazi Germany.

If Democracy has now proved that it would not hold the youthful generation today with the same tight grip as in the past, some other instrument of Government is slowly taking its place, and it has taken a three-fold aspect or form, viz., Bolshevism, Nazism and Fascism. Power Politics prevail in all the three creeds of political philosophy. Where Democracy still prevails as the mode of government in theory and partly in practice, we find Power Politics spreading and that in time of war, Power Politics irrespective of democracy and autocracy, will gradually take the place of government by consent. In the first administration of Roosevelt, there was Power Politics in America. National Recovery Act, the New Deal, the various measures taken by Roosevelt against depression were all off-springs of Power Politics. In England which boasts of having the oldest parliamentary system of government in the world, Power Politics started when there was a

National Government for the first time after the fall of the Labour Party which could not govern. This National Government was an all-party arrangement but even that failed and a general election was resorted to when the Conservative Party swept the polls and secured the largest majority in parliamentary history. As a national emergency even such a situation where one party gained the majority, Power Politics intervened to secure adequate power over state affairs by including in the Government, representatives of other parties which had no majority. In other words, it was an artificial system which had no cohesion or binding in the structure of Government. In fact, there was no opposition to speak of, and no democratic checks and counter-checks whenever any particular measure was put before the Legislature.

Power Politics therefore is a phase of modern times and it has permeated into the political atmosphere of India. Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest exponent of Power Politics in the country. Apart from his great moral force, his Power Politics takes count of the minutest details of material and worldly considerations weighing upon the minds of the people. His followers are disciples of the Power Politics of Gandhism. Next in importance is Mr. Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League who is another exponent of Power Politics in India. The so-called democratic character of the Muslim League,

the annual elections which vote him the President, time after time, and autocratic power, he as President exercises over the members who show any dissent or disagreement, the dictatorial decisions of the President in various instances against individuals or groups of individuals all constitute Power Politics of the first magnitude. Take now the third instance of Power Politics which are spreading amongst the Depressed Classes through its leader Dr. Ambedkar. All the propaganda of this gentleman pretending to raise the status of the Depressed Classes throughout the country has as its foundation Power Politics, meaning thereby securing greater power through political propaganda, to lead the blind and misguide the uneducated. Besides the three instances of Power Politics which I have given above, there are other minor variations of the same thing but they are not so potent or productive of good or bad results as are evident in the other three cases. The Hindu Mahasabha, the National Liberal Federation, the Non-Party Conference are all minor examples of Power Politics in the country.

The inference is that when there is more than one Power Politics in one country, no one of them can succeed in erecting a political structure forcible enough to enforce its decisions upon the people. Divisions therefore will arise and cleavages of opinion amongst groups of people will increase with the result that no tangible constructive developments

can take place in the field of government and in the region of industrial and economic progress throughout the country. This is what we see in India. There is more talk than action. More meetings and conferences than direct results. Above all these manifestations, the Government of Great Britain sit tight over the affairs of the country knowing very well that the insecurity of their position is not so great as each representative of Power Politics would wish them to believe.

What is the outcome of all this in the ensuing struggle? A struggle not merely between Hindus and Moslems but a struggle between community and community, caste and caste, creed and creed, throughout the length and breadth of the land. The answer to the question is that no one Power Politics in India will be able to establish a stable government or a powerful government which will vanquish its opponents and push them into the corner. There will be, as time goes, many other ramifications of Power Politics in this country. I have not discussed the position of Indian States and Princes for they are not representatives of any kind of Power Politics in the land. They are in fact victims of the Power Politics of Imperialism of the British rule of the past, of which they are only relics at the present time. What I anticipate is, that there is not one strong Power Politics sufficiently able to consolidate and vanquish the opponents. What

hope has India therefore during the next quarter of a century in the establishment of a rational system of Power Politics to which the bulk of the people will subscribe in the end whether they like it or not. My answer to this question is in the negative. India will go on discussing amongst different groups, different kinds of Power Politics with no backing or force behind to come out right in the open to fight. In fact, there does not appear to be any very strong conviction in the minds of the leaders of Power Politics in India today to achieve any tangible and lasting results.

**Speech at the Y.M.C.A., Bourdillon Branch, on
"Planning for Prosperity" at which Sir C. V. Raman
was the Principal Speaker**

October 1944

Planning for prosperity is perhaps another name for Economic Planning. Schemes for such planning have been before us in India for the past several months and only recently we have Sir M. Visvesvaraya's pamphlet—his ideas for economic planning limiting the period to five years. Five to ten years' time limit is an extreme one for those who prepare blue prints about this matter.

It is well to carefully study the scheme of planning which was adopted in Russia by Stalin and which enabled that great country to resist the Germans and finally oust them from the occupied territories which they ravaged and destroyed to the utmost severity of their brutality. Planning for prosperity at the present moment cannot be conceived without reference to the war and its aftermath. When war is over every country will have to face this problem; but before prosperity comes there is a great deal of clearing the debris of destruction and then rebuilding what has been destroyed, and it is difficult to fix a time limit for all such work. Presuming the world can be reconstructed in five years' time—a gigantic task, then only we can think of planning for prosperity in the future. All war-time industries will have to be switched off

to a new cycle of current to produce results more lasting and beneficial to mankind. The industrial workers and those now busily engaged in scientific research to invent weapons or to counteract the dangers of the inventions of our enemies will also have to be driven to new channels. Both these movements will require extensive training of youth to enable them to do positive work and this they cannot do without State help, and relief of economic struggle. They have also to be taken into confidence in the financial councils of national effort to produce a new world to prevent extremism in thought and action, and this can only be done if vested interests of old people, old industrialists and capitalists are not allowed to have their sway. No planning for prosperity can succeed if we do not eliminate the chances of revolt which will spring up without harmony between different ideologies of Socialism and Capitalism.

All future planning for prosperity will have to look far ahead with research being the very foundation, and the larger percentage of the State revenues will have to be devoted to research. On this foundation alone can the future prosperity planning be constructed. Special studentship should be setup in the Universities to deal adequately with all the problems, not only of finance, currency exchange, foreign and internal trade and commerce but also scientific investigation into the use

of all raw materials of the world, their supply and distribution and a revision of the ordinary—doctrines which have been preached by capitalistic countries for their own benefit, and to exploit hitherto the raw materials of less advanced countries for manufacturing purposes and for dumping their goods for consumption elsewhere. It is obvious that planning for prosperity must be established on a new and unfamiliar ground, to meet the novel world problems that will have to be solved and which are unprecedented in world history.

**"Youth and the Post-War World" as published
in the "Indian Review"
November 1944**

The subject of post-war reconstruction has become a hackneyed one so much so that it is now a part and parcel of the machinery of government already set in motion to co-ordinate plans and ideas of which we have so many of late. It is, in fact, a huge department of government which does not administer but, I believe, prepares blue prints for future action. In these blue prints, youth does not find a place, and my object is to stress on the necessity of paying attention to the part the youth of all countries, allied nations, including India and also Germany and her satellites, will play in the post-war world.

Let us clear the ground first of all and get some idea, however imperfect, of post-war conditions that will follow when this global war is at an end. The colossal loss of life reaching to several millions will create a gap in the effective man-power of nations. This will include civilian men and women who have perished in air raids and also those who have been persecuted and starved to death as prisoners of war by Germany and Japan. So many of the world's best scientists, inventors, technicians, artists and custodians of the highest intellectual culture amongst the promising younger generation will also be counted

amongst those lost to the nations to which they belonged. Those who return safely from the battle-fields of land, air and sea will have a different outlook on life and, others less fortunate who will or are already amongst the wounded and who will be much larger in numbers than in the last war, have also to be taken into account in all post-war plans. Their care will need a big national effort. The number of the fighting forces when demobilised on their return will be a grave, social and economic problem and unemployment on a large scale will baffle solution. Are all reconstruction plans forestalling these difficulties? There will be the housing problem in all devastated countries, replanning or rebuilding of large cities, towns and industrial centres destroyed, and lastly spread of disease, starvation through want of food, suffering through want of clothing and malnutrition also, dearth of raw materials immediately required for rebuilding of industries have all to be taken into account. There will be a serious fall in the standard of wages and a general scramble for the world's raw materials and other resources still intact and untouched.

How will youth find itself in the midst of all the physical, moral and economic upset throughout the world? In theory we are hoping for the millennium to come. The Blue Prints of post-war reconstruction promise a higher standard of living and the establishment of world organisations to

prevent future wars and aggression, less struggle for existence, less suffering and bitterness and strife as between nations and peoples, in fact peace and good-will amongst mankind in general. But in dealing with all schemes, have the originators considered the psychological and moral aspect? My opinion is that they have mainly based their plans on the material and economic point of view. His Holiness the Pope in his recent broadcast said: "At the end of the war there remains the problem of social order which will be the object of a violent struggle." By this His Holiness the Pope evidently means a struggle between different ideologies which in his view will have to be reconciled by a nobler ideal for peace and development of relations between men, on the principles of unity and prosperity of all.

My own view is that after the war, the conditions of the world will provide a field for youthful activities on a gigantic scale. In spite of the stupendous difficulties that youth will have to face at the very start of all reconstruction programmes, I have hopes that the youth movements in the different countries which were gaining strength before the war broke out will be revived to suit altered conditions of life, and those organising it will have to secure the co-operation of the best educationists anxious to devote their energies to the framing of the education policy that will alter the very outlook

of youth on life in general. Just lately, I have had some particulars sent to me by a friend in England on the founding of youth centres in that country which are intended to be a valuable addition to the present inadequate system of education. They cover the gap of 14 and 21 years and are run as kind of clubs with official classes for teaching, also informal groups for drama, discussions, games and music. The youth movement will have to be reorganised in Germany to make the youths of that country unlearn the Nazi philosophy and the example of the Russian youths will have also to be co-ordinated with the new ideas that will spread in parts outside Russia to bring about some compromise between capitalism and communism. I personally think that every country will produce amongst the youth striking and original workers and thinkers to tackle the world problems that will face them. The world will no doubt be full of old people, and youth's contribution in the New World Order means that youth must find a proper place in any scheme of reconstruction, and this they cannot do unless they undergo serious courses of training and acquire an international outlook above the narrow national patriotism in their own country. The youth will also constitute an effective recruiting ground for the international organisation such as an international Army, Air Force and Navy that will have to be constantly kept up in an efficient form to do their

duty whenever called. This International Police Force will naturally give the youth a tremendous outlet for the development of their youthful energies, enterprise and intelligence.

With the robust optimism which is characteristic of youth, patience and forbearance and also some sacrifice, the youth will be able to solve many of the problems and give a lead to peoples struggling for a higher and a fuller life.

Every scheme of post-war reconstruction must take into account the nature of the governments that will be set up and the machinery thereunder. This specially applies to India. No scheme or plan will succeed unless the whole nation is behind it and it is co-ordinated with other schemes framed by the international organisation.

Youth must receive more comprehensive education, including social and political education for citizenship. The equality of opportunity must be essential for youth development. In the re-planning of cities, young designers and architects must be allowed to submit plans. In all post-war schemes for which brains and inventiveness of a higher order are necessary, youth should be given an opportunity of being of service. As in Russia, youths should be elevated to positions of responsibility in the judicial, executive and economic organisation of the State. All these will be possible only with political education. Knowledge of geography and history

on an international basis will be essential. Internationalmindedness should be acquired under conditions of the New World Order. Many are the problems which youth will have to face, but solution will come within its own heart. Grave responsibility lies on the heads of those framing the education equipment of the future for post-war reconstruction.

In the post-war period, let us hope that old ideas of capital and labour and even Russian or rather the Soviet system of life based on communistic doctrines will undergo noticeable changes in the minds of the younger generation. They are likely to view with favour the socialistic doctrines in some form or other and denounce capitalism as has been the practice in the United States of America and also in Great Britain.

Youth will be impatient and unwilling to wait for a long period of years but demand that something should be done in the immediate future to achieve results that will benefit them both economically and in other ways. In order therefore to secure the co-operation of youth something has to be done for them, otherwise the part that they will play will not be helpful but obstructive. When it is helpful they will form a strong bulwark against the disruptive forces of society and counteract those tendencies that are rigid and conservative amongst the elder politicians who will naturally

have the temptation to cling to their original faiths and in other words, there will be a great clash between youth and age more than ever before in the history of mankind. The chances are that youth will win in the battle, and to conserve, utilise and take advantage of all the youthful forces of all the different nations, the elder politicians have a great task before them for they have to look far ahead and sacrifice many of their own cherished principles in the interests of the national government of each country which cannot be expected to function without the wholehearted co-operation of youth in every sphere of national activity.

Now let us for a moment consider what may be the part youth will take in the post-war reconstruction. Their ambition will be very much higher after the war is over. Once you have framed your post-war reconstruction schemes on the principles explained above, youth will be a very strong co-operative influence to bring about a new era and a new outlook amongst all the nations. There is also another important duty towards youth which the powers that will wield their authority over the whole nation must discharge, *viz.*, bring about a spirit of harmony and co-operation under some scheme of international peace organisations in which the youth should be asked to play a leading part. Peace movements that have been started have not succeeded in preventing wars, and is an inter-

national organisation bringing together different nations to establish an International Army, Air Force or an International Navy will not succeed unless youth is brought up with the conviction that their participation will not result in an actual struggle for advantage as between one nation against the other, but will bring about harmony and prevent rivalry, exploitation and jealousy. Youth must be convinced that any organisation that is set up is efficacious and also fruitful of good results, otherwise they will not be sympathetic co-operators but secretly grow into actual hostile agents to thwart the very foundation of such peace organisations of the future.

The future of the East and West in the New World Order is sure to take a prominent place in the youthful mind after the war. It will be dangerous to make any prognostications as to the political education that will be given to the youths of the West as differentiated from the youths of the East, including India, but it is obvious that the Eastern Hemisphere will become a new and weighty element in establishing a new equilibrium in the demand for world peace. The youth of India will have put before them the various philosophies of Nazism, Communism and many other isms, some of which stand in the name of democracy. The youth of the West will be greatly influenced by the communistic doctrines of Russia, however much they may be

altered to suit post-war conditions, but to quote H. G. Wells' book, *The New World Order*, "the establishment of a progressive world socialism in which the freedoms, health and happiness of every individual is protected by a universal law based on a re-declaration of the rights of man providing for the utmost liberty of thought, criticism and suggestion is the ideal to be kept in view in all plans of post-war reconstruction". There is no doubt that the youth of all countries could come in a line to work out the youth movement adapting it to local circumstances and conditions of each nation.

The education problem in the post-war period is of the utmost importance for it primarily affects youth. Education will continue to have in a larger measure an economic motive and for that reason alone all university education has to be reorganised and while academic standards must be kept up to the highest and research encouraged by larger grants from the State exchequer in every country for the benefit of science which in its turn will help the industrial development, the education of youth should give a stimulus to youthful energies being directed towards a positive aim of the human mind that will lead to a higher culture and a higher civilisation than that which has yet been achieved.

I have not specifically referred as yet to the youth of India. So far, India has not experienced the severe war conditions and hardships and horrors

in the war zone of Europe and other countries even China, such as loss of life, property and general dislocation of economic conditions, except only in part. Youth has been mobilised for war service but in effect youth has been able to continue its studies in schools and universities and in fact, obtained greater opportunities of showing merit and capacity in various spheres specially in war industries—no doubt a great promise for the future. By comparison the youth of India is superior in intelligence, adaptability and quickness to learn and has proved what it can achieve, if given the chance. Training centres under the Labour Department of the Government of India and the Bevin Scheme for training technicians have opened further avenues for youthful employment in industrial development for the future. But amidst these hopeful features we have the present system of literary education conferring degrees, that produces unemployment. Large increase in the population of the country has made the problem of village primary and mass education a colossal one, still unsolved. Technical training centres are few. Scientific research is limited and expenditure thereon is but a drop in the ocean and in the country's finance. To help Indian youth in taking a proper place in the post-war world, the whole educational system of India has to be reorganised. Youth movement should be established in every town and village to supplement the work

of educational institutions. Physical culture and medical care of the students are all to form part in a big national scheme. Greater opportunities should be afforded by the State for technical education, scientific research and foreign travel, providing also for exchange of students all over the world. Then only will the youth of India rise to the height unprecedented in India's national progress and help to make this country a living example of what youth can achieve in the new social order that is to come.

**Speech at the Prize-Giving of the Indian
Institution of Science Gymkhana
March 1945**

Lord Snell before he died wrote on the use and misuse of leisure in an article he contributed to a London paper, from which I quoted the following sentences in my book, *The Rhythm of Living*. "One set of people use their bodies as though they have no brains, while another set so drive their brains that their bodies remain undeveloped. Every human being should aim to become a well balanced personality and not allow himself to develop into a mere lopsided imitation of a well proportioned man."

This is very true. Physical culture and keep fit movements of all kinds including sports, competitions, olympic games have all their great value in a general all-round system of education and the training of youth, but they may be overdone in some cases and this we have to guard against.

There should be an adjustment between our internal and external environment at the present time, especially when the life of individuals is put to the severest strain both internally and externally owing to present conditions of living. Our education system today imposes undue strain on youth which is injurious to the body, on the other hand disproportionate attention to sports as a counter-measure and unbalanced development of the body

may produce a material culture of strength which is exemplified strongly in the Youth Movement of Germany, the Balila Movement of Italy and the Zocol Movement of Czechoslovakia—all of which became very powerful just before the present war. What is needed therefore is co-ordination of physical and mental development which will produce the best results in all activities for the good of the individual and for the good of the nation. Just as a sound education will remove prejudice, create a fraternity and fellowship amongst the scholars and students of all races and creeds, sound physical training and sports of all kinds like the co-ed. sports of the Stanford University of California will bring forth healthy manifestations of physical strength and energy in a spirit of healthy rivalry adding to the efficiency of men and women in a well co-ordinated national existence.

Research work with which you are engaged requires a quick and an alert brain, but also a sound physical constitution to bear the continued strain caused by the pursuit of a scientific idea or problem. Hence I am glad to see such a fine set of young men in the Institue Gymkhana who are fully alive to the necessity of developing a well balanced personality which India needs in a large measure at the present moment.

The task that lies ahead of you is tedious but stimulating in view of the great possibilities of the

future advance of research in India, and I wish you one and all success in every sphere of your work and hope you will take the lead to raise India to a higher level of scientific investigation that will bring about the cultural and economic renaissance of our country as a whole.

**Speech Inaugurating the Third Conference of
the 91st District of Rotary International
held at Bangalore
April 1945**

It gives me great pleasure to be with you this morning, and while thanking you for the honour that you have chosen me to perform the inauguration of this Conference, I may touch a personal note regarding my association with the Rotary Movement. This commenced in 1930 in England and I have been invited by several Rotary Clubs in England, the United States and India during the past 15 years to speak to them on the perplexing Indian tangle from an international standpoint, six occasions in England, three in the United States, and four in India including Bangalore. You will thus see that though not a Rotarian *de jure* I have been a Rotarian in spirit and service, and have had ample opportunities of acquainting myself with your marvellous growth in all continents and in all nations.

It forcibly struck me that Rotary started in its original association, forty years ago, within a local area of the various professions, trades and crafts, and then holding out its hand to those other towns similarly constituted in membership, moved on and on in genial fellowship until at last it reached the sea. With the attainment of that boundary, there came the day when the spirit of fellowship crossed

the seven seas, and the spirit born in obscurity became international in character; from lighting the lives of a few it has cast its genial glow on the many, until today its reflection is seen across the sky of the whole world. It is in its international unity and understanding a medium, simple in its operation, for undertaking that which perplexes a bewildered world.

Nearly five years ago, at the inauguration of the 31st Annual Convention of Rotary International in Havana, the President said: "The years to come reserve for Rotary a most difficult and arduous task, to heal the wounds of a world destroyed by war; to substitute for hate mutual understanding and tolerance; to create affection where rancour exists. That is the superhuman task which Rotary is to undertake." This global war has made that task greater in intensity and in volume today than it was in 1940. From 1939, since the war began, Rotarians have worked earnestly to carry out their programme. In 1941 they established a committee on participation in the post-war world, and later another committee on Adjustment from War to Peace. *A World to Live In* and *Peace is a Process* are two remarkable publications of the Rotary movement.

The expansion of the Rotary Movement during the past five years has been phenomenal. Its membership has increased from 185,200 to 232,925. The number of clubs has increased from 4,367 to 5,276. In India the movement has spread far and wide. You

have in the 91st District alone 22 Clubs with 730 members and in Bangalore 86 members. The third 91st District Rotary Conference meets today in a more hopeful atmosphere. The end of the European war is in sight. Japan's complete defeat is sure to follow. Earnest efforts to presettle some of the pressing post-war problems by holding frequent international conferences in all matters of vital interest have raised the belief that reconstruction work has already begun. The most important of such conferences was the Dumbarton Oaks Conference held last autumn, which drew up provisional plans for setting up a world security and economic organisation the details of which are well known. The San Francisco Conference is about to meet to put into final shape the Dumbarton Oaks plan. A large number amongst the United Nations are represented, including India. But many delicate and difficult questions on which misunderstandings are sure to arise will come up for discussion. I will just mention a few. The suggestion of international trusteeship for colonial areas, by which the trustees will be held accountable for their administration to a world organisation, is sure to be opposed by Great Britain, France and Holland with Colonial Empires. The future of the Mandatory territories and the application of the Atlantic Charter to them to protect their territorial and political independence, is another thorny problem. The voting

strength of the bigger nations as fixed at the Yalta Conference by a separate Treaty has already caused a flutter. The right of small nations to participate on a basis of sovereign equality, which is the main principle of the Dumbarton Oaks plan, is also being debated upon. Only a few days ago, Russia demanded a seat for the Polish Lublin Government on the ground that lack of American and British recognition was no reason to exclude it. Besides, the Anglo-American view-point in regard to self-determination is not identical as clearly pointed out in a recent communication to *Time* magazine of the United States by a writer who said:

"The position of both the U.S. and Britain leaves much to be desired. The U.S. says, in effect, that we guarantee to you your right to form a government of your own choosing but we will do nothing to assist you in this. Great Britain says, in effect, that we guarantee to you your right to form a government of which we approve. . . . There must be a happier policy midway between these conflicting positions."

India holds an anomalous position though it has sent to San Francisco two official representatives and one from the Indian States. Even with the protection of the British Government it may have to face objections such as those recently put forward by an American Senator to the introduction of the Indian Immigration Bill. He said:

"There is a difference between China and India. India is not independent and the political situation there is very unsettled." Surely, India does not know where she stands. Will the sovereignty of India be declared before the San Francisco Conference meets? That is a question now uppermost in the minds of many. God forbid that the San Francisco Conference is postponed or ends in a fiasco, or that Indian participation on terms of equality with Great Britain, Canada, Australia and South Africa is in any way questioned.

Now what about India itself? Post-war reconstruction figured prominently in your discussions at the last conference in Mysore. Since then a year has elapsed. Endless blue prints have been prepared for British Provinces and Indian States. The second part of the Bombay Plan has also been published. But it is generally conceded even by the Planning Member of Government that without a National Government and co-ordination no plan is likely to succeed. In a letter to the press in January last year, I emphasised this point and added: "To what extent full Provincial and State autonomy and a distribution of administrative territories based on racial, linguistic and other considerations can be reconciled with an all-India control, is a moot question. But we can take a leaf out of the book of Soviet Russia which has successfully evolved a scheme embracing the whole Soviet Union and

has mobilised in a remarkable degree the enthusiasm and co-operation of all the peoples in that Union."

Today you are individually and as a body in a better position to review the whole situation. India, in the sixth year of the war, stands where she stood before politically and economically in spite of her magnificent war effort in men, money and materials. India's financial contribution, as declared in the House of Commons, up to March 1943, was approximately £ 600,000,000, and the costs were then running to about £ 225,000,000 a year. Up to date, the total must be well over 1,000 million pounds. India's fighting forces towards the end of 1943 were about two million. India's Air Force at the same time was ten times what it was pre-war and the Royal Indian Navy thirteen times. The war services of the fighting forces have been handsomely recognised in many theatres of war.

Is it all the fault of India that she is still a dependency without a National Government? Does not discontent prevail in the whole field of administration? If proof is wanted one has only to look at the phenomenal record of Government defeats in the Central Assembly. But if major political parties can unite in criticism when criticism is due, why cannot they join hands on the constructive side? Can we not at this juncture remove the slur of disunity and follow the lead of the Conciliation Committee presided over by Sir T. B. Sapru? If this process

fails, we should follow the advice of Sir Jehangir Gandhi, General Manager of Tatas, to let politicians alone. In a recent speech calling upon the businessmen in India to solve the deadlock, he said, "By virtue of their training and experience, businessmen are generally inclined to be tolerant of honest differences and used to practical methods of compromise." If international conferences are the order of the day, why not all India in the Rotary world hold conferences of Provinces and States, talking over each problem separately, inviting delegates amongst prominent businessmen, industrialists, doctors, engineers and educationists? I am aware that a committee was formed by the Rotary International to consider the problems of world reconstruction in 1940. Why not a Rotary All-India Committee be formed to discuss the Indian problem as it is today?

As the war ends, this problem becomes more pressing and all-important. The economic condition of the people will deteriorate; rancour and bitterness will increase as time goes on. Reconstruction plans will remain blue-prints and nothing more. Divergent theories such as those relating to State ownership of industries and nationalisation on the one hand, and private enterprise on the other, between State Socialism and Capitalism, will create endless discussion.

I am a great believer in the Rotary Movement as a powerful instrument to influence world opinion.

Now is the time for it to get a grip over the Indian situation.

- In spite of dark clouds hanging over us, I am not a pessimist. With the genuine determination all over the world to bring about a New Order, the dawn of a peaceful era is in sight, in which every man can live in decency and comfort and every nation can prosper without exploitation and domination. Why should India lag behind? Her internal problems are surely not so beyond solution that even with inter-provincial, inter-statal, inter-communal friendship and understanding reached in a true Rotary spirit she will fail to evolve a master key to future happiness for all the Indian peoples, that will unlock one racial handicap after another—a key that will succeed where the giants of our times have failed.

I have now much pleasure in declaring the Conference open and wish it every success (Cheers).

**Letter to the Press on
"Sapru Committee Proposals"
April 1945**

The Conciliation Committee reminds one of the Non-Party Conference with Motilal Nehru as Chairman, nearly 30 years ago, and it is a noteworthy coincidence that in both the Conferences two distinguished Kashmiris have led the way.

It is however unfortunate that the text cannot be regarded as complete in detail, and it would have been more advisable to publish a fuller report at this stage.

The idea is to form a Union of India leaving it to the option of the Indian States to join later. Pakistan is definitely opposed and the future constitution is to be framed by a constitution-making body giving the number of each community or interests to make up a total 160. The Committee recommends that the Hindus should agree to the representation of the Moslem Community being on a par with that given to them other than Schedule Castes. I fear that without some compromise on the Pakistan question, the Moslem agreement will not be forthcoming.

As regards the Pakistan issue, the Committee's opposition leaves no room for compromise, and the C. R. formula is apparently thrown overboard. My own view is that the two conflicting interests

represented by the theoretical idea of India's integrity on the one hand and the necessity for a re-distribution of territorial units for administrative purposes on the other, can be reconciled in a manner which I have indicated in the chapter Union of India in my latest book *What is Wrong with India*.

The omission of Indian States in the first plan of the Committee is to my mind a serious defect. A delegate has gone to California to represent Indian States at the Conference, and having regard to the war-effort of the Princes and their people their position cannot now be left indefinite in the future constitution if they come into the World Organisation of the future. My opinion is that no Union of India can be established without the States coming in, and twelve of the principal Indian States could be raised to the status of fully autonomous kingdoms like the re-arranged British Provinces as proposed in Chapter XIV of my book. In my opinion, it is putting the cart before the horse to leave the Indian States alone for the present, and to shelve for future consideration the question of realignment of provincial boundaries on linguistic or cultural consideration.

It would be very difficult for the new constitution as sketched out to have a Head of the State on a five years tenure of office. It is difficult to understand how in the second alternative it is proposed that the Head of the State shall be elected by

the Rulers of Indian States when their status has not been raised. Furthermore, it is not feasible to have an Electoral College for his election. It does not seem possible that the constitution-making body will agree to the appointment of the Head of the State by His Majesty the King of England or by the Rulers, having in view the powers that he will exercise. The example of the Irish Free State may be borne in mind.

It is not clear how the Union Assembly is to be constituted on the population basis of one member for every million. The total population of India is not of one standard, either in education, literacy, earning power, etc. How will the million blocks be created, with unequal distribution between urban and rural areas?

Only 40 are going to be distributed to land-holders, commerce and industries, labour and women. This representation is very limited and inadequate.

Under Clause (e) it is very doubtful whether the Moslem community will agree to the substitution of joint electorates.

The powers assigned to the Centre have not been comprehensively defined. Civil aviation, railways, all-India transportation, Harbour development have not been taken into account. Industrial Development and Post-War Reconstruction on a co-ordinated basis have also to be included; not to speak of irrigation and water-ways.

Under Union Executive, it is proposed to have a composite Cabinet and this cabinet is to consist of Ministers representing the different communities and only six classes have been mentioned, the Parsees for example being excluded. If the Cabinet is to be held together and led by a Prime Minister, from what community will he be chosen? It is not clear how he can secure a stable majority. For the first time the word Party has been used in the sentence "Ordinarily be leader of the Party which by itself or by combination of other parties is able to command a stable majority." The Party system is not envisaged in the proposal. It is a system of community representation.

The position of the Head of the State as part of the Union Legislature and that of the Prime Minister as leader of the Cabinet are sure to be overlapping. If the Head of the State is President, his powers require clearer definition.

It is proposed to have a minority commission outside the Legislatures independent of the constitution. If the Cabinet and the Legislature are not able to protect the minorities, then the Government will not function, and what the Government as reconstituted cannot do, the minority commissions will not be able to do.

The Committee's text does not give any information as to electorate—the mode of elections, qualifications for voters and candidates. It is

imperative that the franchise should be widely extended even amongst women, and the question of adult suffrage may have to be kept in view in this respect.

The language question is another important matter and provincial autonomous units of the Union will certainly ask for their own language to be the official and State language, and at the Centre the members of the Legislature will also ask for the freedom to speak in the language of their own unit. It is idle to dream just now that a common Indian language will come into being for constitutional purposes, but it may one day be realised.

In conclusion, it may be said that the Committee's proposals do not solve the communal problem nor the Indian State problem, and although they disclose a painstaking and a *bonafide* effort to evolve a scheme of conciliation, there is no parallel to be found anywhere that would give guidance from past experience, nor can it be reasonably hoped that the Congress, Muslim League, the Minorities and the two-fifths of Indian India, and the Rulers thereof will view eye to eye with these proposals.

The End of the War in Europe—What It Means

May 19, 1945

The surrender agreement has been signed between the German authorities on the one hand now in power so to speak and the United States, Great Britain and Russia on the other through their military representatives. So far we are now in full possession of all the facts relating to the collapse of German military machines and the certainty of enforcing surrender terms upon Germany as a whole. The details of the surrender document are not yet out and there is no doubt that the three big powers have to confer and come to a definite understanding as to the manner in which those terms are to be enforced. It may be remembered that when the surrender agreement was being discussed and about to be ratified by the parties concerned, Russia was still fighting Germany in and around Dresden and only today there is news that the Germans have reopened fire on the Russians in Prague against the surrender agreement. It is just as well therefore to face the realities of the situation in the sense that those who have signed the agreement on behalf of Germany may or may not have the power to enforce the terms on their own people, and as they have nothing more to lose they can without any concern face the worst when the time comes, and plead that they are impotent

and powerless. Then there is also the contingency of unrest and disorder not only from the military side but also from the civil population in all the liberated countries of Europe where according to the surrender agreement there is to be no more fighting. Once a huge conflagration like the world war goes smouldering on it is impossible to expect that the fire will subside immediately or that the burning embers will not cause mischief from below the surface. What has happened in Greece may happen elsewhere in the Balkans, Italy, in France not to say Poland. There is already concern about the independent action taken by individual countries since liberated such as the occupation of Trieste. Some of the outstanding questions of a military character have not yet been agreed upon, and it would therefore be wise not to be over-sanguine as to the termination of war in all its aspects in Europe. Furthermore, the Nazi surrender does not mean that Nazism is dead in Germany when one is not sure about Hitler.

Even though the situation may be from the point of view of unfavourable possibilities overestimated as above, let us for a moment consider should all things come right, what the end of the war in Europe means today. One would naturally expect that the prisoners in the hands of Germany should forthwith be repatriated and liberated to their respective countries, especially those of British,

French, American and other European nationalities. We have so far heard nothing about this. This will mean corresponding action on the part of allies to utilise the German prisoners which according to the figures quoted during the last six months, amount to nearly two million for rehabilitation work on a large scale. What is going to be done to them, how are they going to be put under restraint, disarmed, fed and clothed, whether all this is a task that will devolve upon the Red Cross organisation or upon the allies themselves, is a question.

Ordinarily when hostilities cease the general rejoicing and optimism which reign supreme in the minds of the peoples thus relieved from all the horrors and anxieties and uncertainties of war would naturally anticipate a cessation of war activities. In view of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which involve the maintenance of strong forces of the allies and the personnel of the military forces including the Navy, Army, Air Force, at the disposal of the Security Council, the end of the war does not mean demobilisation of the fighting forces of the allies. The personnel of the military forces including the Army, Navy and Air Force and the rest has to be chosen gradually with full agreement of all the United Nations for the International Organisation. This will take time. In the meantime, occupied German will require for proper subjugation and to ensure the prevention of any rising among the people a

strong army of occupation. As between the two arrangements there is naturally going to be much discussion and delay and in that sense the war is really not over. Then there is the possibility of guerilla warfare outside the terms of the surrender agreement for which nobody would be responsible and the Germans themselves as partisans and patriots of their own Fatherland may play the part of disguised neutrals in the matter. Where is thus the end of the war in view of all these uncertain factors, which are so clearly described in an article in the *Readers Digest* called "The Nazis Own Plans for Underground War" for the month of December 1944.

Turning now to war production, war industries and the huge organisation for producing arms, ammunitions, aeroplanes, tanks, submarines, ships and the break-neck pace with which the war activities have been conducted during the past few years, these cannot all be suddenly slowed down. The spirit of the people engaged will have to be carefully studied for whereas in one sense they will have still to be occupied in fruitless and unnecessary endeavour, on the other they will be greatly disturbed in mind owing to the sword of Democles hanging over their heads with the fear of cessation of work that may be ordered at any time. Who knows that already during these periods of suspense, retrenchment orders have been issued

to all departments of war activities throughout Europe, America and Russia and even India. We therefore really do not know what exactly is the situation today at the end of the war in Europe, whether expenditure is still going to be carried on in terms of millions per day and whether the policy of reconstruction, rehabilitation and rebuilding will have to be provided from the funds thus liberated from the sphere of war expenditure for the above purposes. In short, the people of the world do not know where they stand. There is no great Leader of the world today who can lay down a policy that is sure to be carried out by all the United Nations and the view-point of the United States, Great Britain and Russia in respect of the thorny questions will not be the same. There are already signs of serious differences of opinion in matters of practical action to control the aftermath of war in so many countries. What a tragedy Roosevelt is no more.

Let us therefore not be too optimistic and relax heaving a sigh of relief. On the other hand it is our duty to remember the loss of millions of lives that has taken place in the battlefields of Europe, Russia and North Africa for the cause of freedom and strive every nerve to bring about the real end of the war so that it may be truly said that they have not died in vain.

In the early days when the war broke out in 1939 at least for six months there was a great

controversy in England as regards war aims of Great Britain, and many critics said that it was a phœney war. Let us beware that there may not be a fear in the minds of the relieved people today that it is a phœney surrender and a phœney end of the war in Europe. Necessary guarantees have to be given and enforced by those in authority amongst the three big powers that with their united voice may be enforced upon all the subjugated elements both from the point of view of military as well as economic considerations. Then only we would be able to say that the war has really ended in Europe and there is not the least chance of the fire still burning and smouldering to cause further destruction and to spread smoke all over to disguise the true facts being known by the ordinary common man.

The war between China and Japan and against Japan which is still being fought by U.S.A. and the British Empire including India is not yet over. The Indian struggle for independence still continues. True world peace has yet to come and let us not forget in our present rejoicings the hard task that still lies before all the liberated countries the task of co-ordination and mutual readjustments to bring about a lasting peace amongst all the nations of the world.

Views on the Wavel Plan

June 1945

A very large number of distinguished Indians including most of the political leaders from all parts of the country have already commented on the Plan which has now been put forward by His Majesty's Government through the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, to end the political deadlock. It is a happy augury that the general consensus points to the desirability of acceptance of the Plan during the interim period. It would be a thousand pities if on account of theoretical differences of opinion, the Plan is shattered at the Conference Table and the unique opportunities now given are lost. It is nevertheless important at this juncture to rivet our attention to some of the practical difficulties in the execution of the Plan. Besides, there are many doubts which require clarification.

A few of these may be mentioned: Firstly, if the Plan is to form an interim government at the Centre without prejudice to the final constitutional settlement, how long is this kind of government to continue? No time limit has been fixed nor has any suggestion been made for working out the future constitution during the interim period. Secondly, it is laid down in the Plan that the reconstituted Executive Council at the Centre must work within the frame of the present constitution Act. If there is a deadlock, what happens next? Thirdly,

if the members of the reconstituted Council are nominated by the Viceroy after consulting all the political leaders in the proportion as to the number and representation as indicated in the Plan, to whom will this body be responsible? Fourthly, it is a question how the change to be introduced at the Centre can lead India forward to attain full Dominion Status. It would appear that democracy and Party Government as understood in the West and which India has been aiming at during the past two or three decades are to be abandoned. On the other hand, it is clear that as a further development of the principle of communal electorates, a Communal Cabinet is for the first time to be established even though it be a temporary measure. Once such a practice is introduced, it will be very difficult to abandon it and the evil consequences it may lead to will not be easily eradicated.

In paragraph 18 of Mr. Amery's pronouncement in the House of Commons, it is stated that responsible government may be established in the Provinces based on the participation of the main political parties, thus soothing down communal differences. So far it is not clear how the Provincial Legislatures are to be re-established and the Provincial Executives constituted. There is a contradiction in terms between responsible government and a communally represented executive not responsible to the Legislature.

Generally speaking, it may be apprehended that the selection of Executive Councillors from amongst Indian politicians, who are heads of the most important sections, will cause heartburning, rivalry and jealousy amongst many. Political parties as such have not all crystallised themselves like the Congress and the Muslim League. The use of the terminology "Caste Hindus" has already raised serious objections and the explanation of the Viceroy in the correspondence that has already been published between him and Mr. Gandhi does not clear the difficulties that will surely crop up regarding this manner of classification. There may be need for some modification in this respect to give effect to the decision "That the selection for appointment by the Viceroy to his Executive should be from amongst leaders of Indian political life at the Centre, and in the Provinces in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities including equal proportions of Moslems and Caste Hindus". It will be most difficult for the Viceroy to secure from the members of the Conference a list of names as he hopes to do on these lines.

The Plan seems very simple concentrating as it does its attention mainly on the Central Executive, but it must be noted that like the Communal Award given before the 1935 Act was passed, the thin end of the wedge for communal representation at the Central Executive will find its place almost perma-

nently. There is also the danger that this form of communal government will at every stage cause a scramble for office amongst the respective communities, and there will be a tremendous amount of intrigue, wire pulling and even corruption. It is well known that the clamour for representation in India is primarily based on the desire to obtain prestige and influence and also patronage which is highly prized by those in office. The general bulk of the Indian people are not sufficiently advanced to be guided by their spirit of national welfare irrespective of caste and creed or community. Lastly, selecting a few political leaders and giving them power and influence over their respective groups created on communal or religious differences will, I fear, not lay the foundation for Indian independence or a higher status for India as a self-governing Dominion in the eyes of the World. My considered opinion therefore is that this interim Plan will only increase bitter antagonism in the communal field and will not promote that confidence, good-will and harmony necessary before India can rise to the full status of a self-governing Dominion. The Plan will encourage rivalry for power and the so-called Indianisation will give more power to the I.C.S. Secretaries representing as in England the permanent Advisers with this difference that the British Ministers are responsible to the British Legislature, and here the new Ministers will not be

responsible to even their own parties but only to the Viceroy for the time being.

To me it is clear that democracy and party government as understood throughout the world will not be applicable to India, and whether some other form of constitution more applicable to the country can be conceived other than one that is suggested for the interim period is a question that deserves very deep and earnest consideration of the Indian political leaders.

One last word. It is unfortunate that the Indian States have been left out altogether in the new Plan and for the present nothing will affect the relations of the Crown with them through the Crown Representative. How long will the stagnant character of the Indian States problem continue without any regard to their future place in the All-India Constitution and the part they must play in post-war reconstruction throughout the country, is a question for consideration. Sooner the representatives of Indian States enter into an agreement with the Indian political leaders the better for all concerned, or else there is danger of their forming themselves into another Ulster in which British control over two-fifths of the Indian sub-continent will continue as it exists at present.

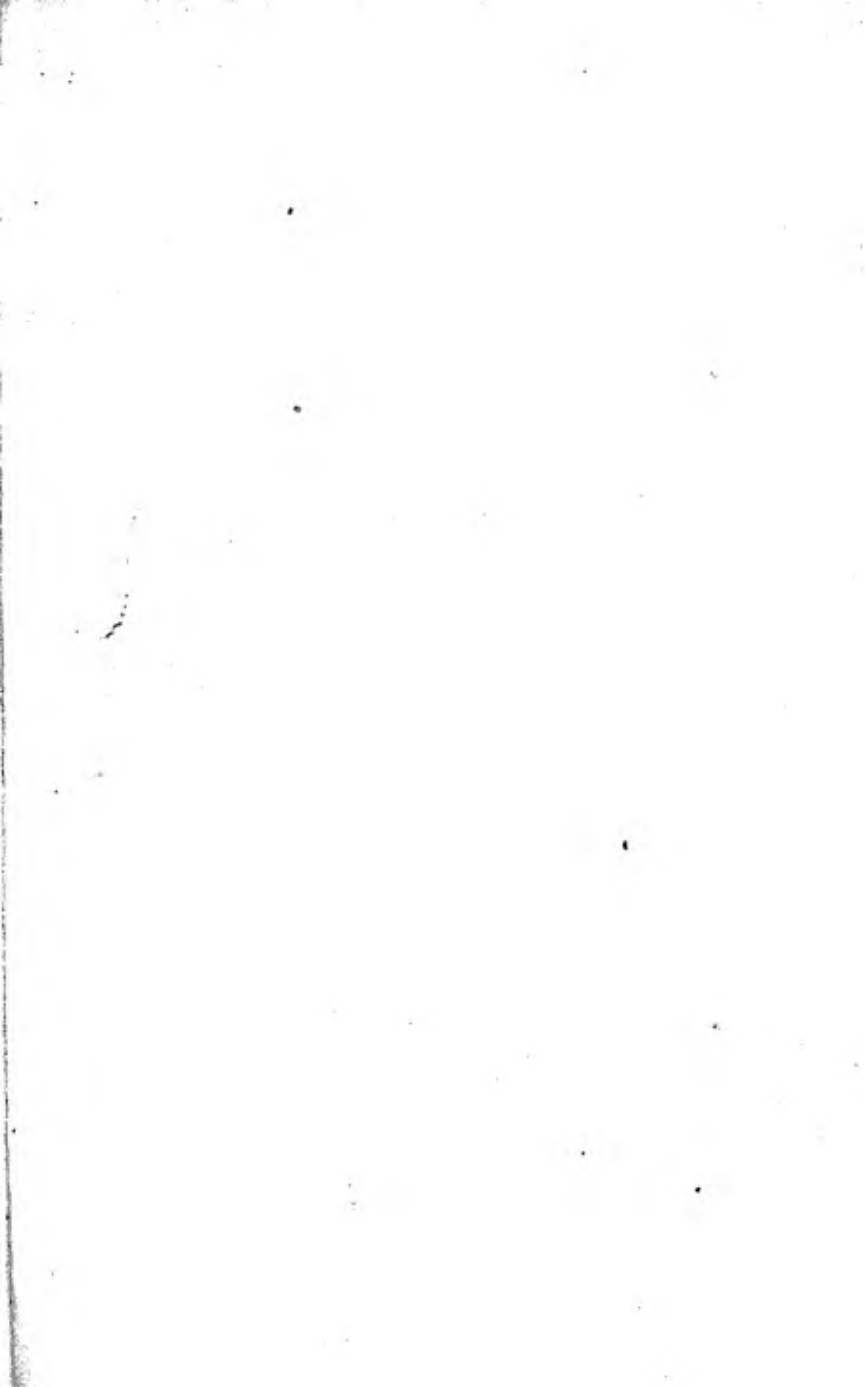
Note—Many of these observations have proved themselves correct during the Conference and by its failure to come to a settlement.

EPILOGUE

No more shots from the camera will be included in this collection. The year 1945 will go down in history as the culmination of a titanic struggle enveloping the whole world; and though, at enormous sacrifice, victory has been won, and the din of battle is no longer heard, the constructive work of rehabilitation and establishment of peace has only just begun.

The problems confronting the master-minds that are engaged in building up a new world order have been dealt with, however imperfectly, in the foregoing pages in which I have attempted to bring together the thoughts, hopes and fears that have arisen in the mind of a common man returning after a break to old familiar scenes of his own country. The justification for placing them in a readable form is that, though there has been a lapse of time from the recording of the first item in the collection, yet the solution of the complex problems indicated is nowhere yet in sight. The Indian horizon is still overcast with clouds of bitterness and misunderstanding and attempts, though feeble, of dispersing them with some solution may, perchance, be successful if, in the confusion of conflicting claims and suggestions, some orderly answer may be found in the foregoing pages by those who aim at a disinterested settlement.





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